PAKISTAN'S PROXY WAR EXPLODES MYTHS ABOUT KASHMIR



AND THREATENS THE SURVIVAL OF KASHMIRI PANDIT COMMUNITY

RELEASED

By

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE, M.P.

On

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at

JAMMU

DURING

THE CONVENTION OF

ALL STATE KASHMIRI PANDIT CONFERENCE

(SRI SANATAN DHARM YUVAK SABHA)

SHARIKA BHAWAN, SHEETALNATH

SRINAGAR - KASHMIR

CAMP - JAMMU (J & K)

DEDICATED

TO THE

REVEREND MEMORY

OF OUR MARYTRS —

THE INNOCENT VICTIMS

OF

RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

AND

BARBARIC TERRORISM

INSTIGATED

BY

PAKISTAN

IN

KASHMIR

Pakistan's Proxy war explodes myths about Kashmir and threatens the survival of Kashmiri Pandit Community.

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My thanks are due to those friends of mine who desired that I should compile my write ups and publish these in the shape of a book. That is why a reader can find some repititions of some ideas at some places. My thanks are due to my neighbour, Sh. B Koul, who made some suggestions after going through the first manuscript.

My acknowledgements are due to all those sources like India Today, Frontline, Sunday, Times of India, Hindustan Times, Daily Excelsior and Daily Kashmir Times and also to J & K Sahitya Sammitti (for a few photographs on brutal killings) which have been quoted/referred to in this book.

My thanks are due to Justice J. N. Bhat (Retd) for having written a forward to this book.

My thanks are due to my mother who financed me for printing this book.

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GOPI KISHEN MUJU

FOREWORD

It gives me a great pleasure to write a foreword to this book written by a young, dynamic and dedicated social worker of our community. The author has explained in a vivid-manner the false hopes and beliefs a Kashmiri Pandit was having about his position in India and his future survival in the light of terrorism going on in Kashmir. He has raised two important issues in the first section of the book viz. *Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Kashmiri Hindus displaced from the Valley and retention of Kashmir as an integral part of India*, which demand a special attention. He has produced some photographs and other documentary evidence to show the extent of damage done by the terrorists in Kashmir with the active support of Pakistan which has threatened the survival of Kashmiri Pandits.

The book is worth study by anybody interested in understanding the present turmoil in Kashmir and survival of Kashmiri Pandit Community.

Justice J.N. Bhat (Retd.)

PREFACE

This book is a consolidated form of numerous write-ups which I had penned down from time to time, since my arrival in Jammu in March, 1990, for publication in some newspapers. However due to changing scenario and inconsistent policy of the Government and the unsurmountable agony faced by the displaced people and on account of some other reasons these write-ups could not be sent for publication and the material continued to pile up. A lot of disinformation compaign was launched to blame the "migrants" themselves for their exodus and holding threats to them on one side and on the other side the authorities have not taken any serious note of the sufferings of the displaced people which continue to swell up day by day. The vascillating policy of the Government, lack of a proper assessment of the situation and political wranglings have only complicated the situation, and gradually created doubts in the minds of the displaced as to whether they can go back in the near future or not, though they are very eager to return to their place of birth and origin and live as rightful citizens of the land over there. The authorities are lost in the confusion and their desire not to displease some sections of the society and issuing of varied statements from time to time indicate nothing but lack of proper perception of the problem and inability to handle the fundamentals to solve the problem, which needs a clear cut national policy, as Kashmir has thrown a challenge to the very unity and integrity of India as a secular and democratic country.

A number of misconceptions have been hovering around the whole issue since partition of the country, for which I feel no

better term other than *Myths*. The present turmoil in Kashmir has given us a chance to remove the cobwebs and see the reality behind these myths. With the explosion of these myths, it must now become clear to one and all that hard and fast decisions and actions taken on an urgent basis are a must to curb the on going terrorism and havoc created by religious fundamentalism in Kashmir. A change of policy is must. This is borne by the material presented in this small book.

The subversion and insurgency launched by Pakistan through her agents in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and Kashmir with the help of Afghans and ISI personnel has now died a miserable death and is waiting a pitiable burial, which cannot be delayed, lest there be more decomposition. This is very essential to save our Kashmiri Youth and security forces from further loss, and ensure the return of displaced people to their homeland of *Mauj Kashmir* as an integral part of India.

Gopi Kishen Muju

SECTION ONE

THE ISSUES

"Seeing the false as false, and the true as true is wisdom".

(J.K)



الصفا

مسلمانوں پر ظلم وستم ڈھانے کے ذمہ دار پنڈت دو دن کے اندر اندر چلے جائیں

HEAD LINE OF DAILY 'ALSAFA' (URDU) PUBLISHED FROM SRINAGAR. dated 14th APRIL 1990

'KASHMIRI PANDITS RESPONSIBLE FOR DURESS AGAINST MUSLIMS, SHOULD LEAVE THE VALLEY WITHIN TWO DAYS'

WARNING ISSUED BY HIZBUL MUJAHADEEN.

WHAT IS THE MESSAGE OF PEOPLE'S LEAGUE

- **VICTORY**
- **FREEDOM, and**
- **ISLAM**

J&K People's League





MYTH (ABOUT KASHMIR) EXPLODED AND KASHMIRI PANDITS

The crisis which has been witnessed in Kashmir during the past two years or so forcing the entire Minority Hindu Community of about two and a half lakhs to flee the Valley of Kashmir has exploded certain myths which had blinded the Indian political leaders to see the reality and kept the general masses in India in dark about the factual position and other important aspects of the unrest going on in Kashmir. Even now one is not sure as to how far the people of India are fully aware about the real problem of terrorism and religious fundamentalism which has put the entire Valley of Kashmir (once the heaven on earth and now turned hell) on fire and can even engulf the entire country, if the forces supporting these terrorists and subversive activities functioning inside and outside the State at the behest of Pakistan are not crushed and contained. While terrorism in any form is highly condemnable and should be crushed, the religious fundamentalism must not be allowed to find roots in our country at any cost and threaten the intergrity and solidarity of our country.

The belief that Kashmir was a symbol of secularism in India where Gandhi Ji had seen a ray of hope and light has now turned out to be a myth, a delusion, because of the terrorism lashed out by communal and fundamentalistic elements killing hundreds of Hindus and othe secular people and forcing the entire Hindu Minority Community to run away like frightened pigeaons from Kashmir, their place of origin and birth for over thousands of years. This flame of secularism was obviously kept burning with dignity and honour by a Kashmiri with his blood, rejecting the two nation theory of M.A. Jinnah who facing a hostile Muslim crowd (in Kashmir) had to run away from Kashmir and was given nec-

essary escort by Maharaja Hari Singh for his safe exit from the Valley. There was secularism and peace in Kashmir because a Kashmiri Hindu (Pandit) did not retaliate to the numerous onslaughts made on him from time to time on different fronts—economic, educational, business, social, employment, religious, cultural and even historial—directly or indirectly. This non-retaliating and silently suffering profile adopted by a Kashmiri Hindu kept the communalistic and fundamentalistic elements of the majority community (Muslims) at bay, and the anti Indian elements did not dare to raise their uguly heads easily and openly, though they were not at all inactive. Presence of other secular and nationalistic forces also worked as a strong deterrant. Eventually the nationalistic and secular elements, and particularly the Kashmiri Hindus in the Valley became thorns in the eyes of these fundamentalistic, communal and anti-Indian elements to be gradually eliminated and liquidated under a well drawn out plan. Some of these communal and anti-national elements pretending and professing to be secular, nationalistic and patriotic Indians even managed to mingle up with other nationalistic and secular forces and gradually infilitrated into the life line of Indian interests in Kashmir and its body politic with ulterior motives, and exploited the situation on all fronts to their maximum benefit and advantage.

However, the sudden volte face turned by a good section of the majority Muslim population by its support to the religious zealots and fundamentalists and later on to the militancy, the support received by these elements demonstrating for secession of Kashmir from India and open anti-Indian activities has exposed the smoke in the flame. The massive demonstrations held during the last week of Feb.1990 during which regular processions would be taken out were a clear indication as to how far these elements had been able to penetrate into the social life of Kashmir by luring common credulous innocent Kashmiris. One such massive procession was taken to the shrine at Chari-Sharief in Badgam District in the last week of Feb.,1990 and another massive one on

1st March, 1990 to UNO Office in Srinagar, in which even government employees were forced to join or lured and excited to participate. These demonstrations gave a strange feeling to these elements that the "*AAZADI*" was just at hand. The common man did not obviously know the strategy employed and adopted by these Pak-agents and got him trapped in the net of religious sentiments because of his credulous nature and false hopes and expectations and appeal to his religious sentiments (the folly of which has now been realised by him).

The whole process had been rehearsed from mosques since 19, January 1990 when under some secret message the Muslims in the Valley were drawn to assemble in the local mosques during nights and enmass shout slogans of "Allah Akbar" "Nallah Taqbir", "Yahan Kya Chalega"..."Nizam-E-Mustafa", "Hamey Kya Chahiye, "Aazadi" "Indian dogs go back" "Indian agents murdabad" (meaning thereby Kashmir Pandits and other nationalistic-people) etc. The echoes of these deafening slogans during the otherwise calm and cold nights of winter were highly resounding. While the Muslims were excited with commotion and emotional outbursts, the Hindu minority community population was taken aback by this sudden unexpected and un-pronounced upsurge and apprehended an imminent and immediate fall out on it. However, these exercises and assemblies proved only a rehearsal for a future plan of action and the minority Hindu commuinity was not immeditely physically touched on a mass scale, though signals were sent to them in the killing of their prominent persons like Shri T.L.Tapiloo. Shri N.K.Ganjoo, Shri P.N.Bhat and some other people. The Hindus were made to join processions under virtual threat and fear and made to shout Islamic slogans and demonstrate in favour of "Aazadi", and defy curfew, which was immediately imposed on 20th January, 1990 after a clash had taken place between some people, reportedly National Conference Workers and the security forces. Dr. Farooq Abdullah who having been advised by Shri Rajiv Gandhi to resign upon the appointment of Shri Jagmohan as

the Governor of the State, leading to the imposition of Governor's Rule on 19.1.1990, took up an anti-administration stand. Charging the Government of murderous assaults on people, he very pitiably tried to give a cover to the criminal negligence of his administrative responsibilities as the Chief Minister of the State.

A timely action by the State Administration unnerved the secessionist elements and their plan of launching an all out attack to capture major and vital communication establishments and links by 26th January, 1990 were foiled and the first part of the operation against the militancy started soon after four I.A.F. persons were killed near Rawalpora in Srinagar in the early hours of 25th January, 1990 when curfew was relaxed for a couple of hours only. All these I.A.F. personnel were waiting for their offical bus to go to their offices, and were not armed or on any combat duty. Incidentally it was reported later on by some people that the killings did not seem to be the act of local Kashmiris only but some rigorously trained persons including non-Kashmiris from across the border.

The initial success of the rallies and assemblies in the mosques during nights gave a signal as if "*AAZADI*" cheque was just to be encashed and the proceeds to be pocketed. The gullible innocent Kashmiri was taken in by the sentimental appeal from the fundamentalists. Infact this indoctrination of religious fundamentalism had been going on in Kashmir over a number of years in the local mosques to prepare the Muslims of the Valley finally to wage a religious war (Jahad) against the "infidel" and their motherland India. Specially trained mullahs particulary from U.P., Bihar and West Bengal had been working in these mosques and other Islamic establishments like Jamt-i-Islami schools, private houses, families and other places to brain wash and indoctinate the young innocent Muslim boys and girls— particularly those coming from poor and uneducated families. Audio and visual cassets would be played at all local mosques sermonising for Jahad and spreading of Islam in the world, and Islamisation of Kashmir. The religious

propaganda and appeal from the fundamentalists gave the *"AAZADI"* movement a moral boost beyond measure, but nobody could imagine that it was to be followed by subversive and terrorist activities against common man particularly the members of the minority Hindu community or proven nationlistic forces—though the signals were sent long back in the killings of some prominent people like G.M.Halwai, T.L.Taploo, N.K.Ganjoo, P.N.Bhat, R.P.N. Singh and others. These killings were initially taken as selective killings and reasoned out as political ones, but soon the whole dimension of the movement changed. Even a common Muslim did not know or envisage or imagine the dimension of the whole operation (nor does he still understand it fully) till he was miserably involved and forced to commit to militancy either as an active worker or as a sympathiser, abettor, and helper, from which position he could not retract due to fear of gun. Being caught in the net of subversion and insurgency he was forced to adopt the creed of religious fanaticism and cult of militancy.

Starting from the base of processions, the demonstrations turned out only a preamble to a well drawn out terrorist movement, a guerrilla war type situation patronised and executed under the direction of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan, during the past several years. The movement got a moral boost and even a positive signal to proceed ahead with the release of the terrorists in exchange for the kidnapped daughter of Mr. Mufti Mohamad Sayed, the then Home Minister of India on 13th December 1989, when Dr. Farooq Abdullah was the Chief Minister of the State.The release of the militants was celebrated with unprecedented gaity and pomp and show throughout the Valley. The handling of the whole episode sent wrong signals to the militants and their supporters and exposed the ill functioning of the State Government of National Conference and Cong (I) combine, and ultimately led to its downfall.

Though initially organisations like JKLF, Peoples League, etc. were in the forefront and openly pleaded for an independent Ka-

shmir, these organisations were gradually made obscure by the religious sentimental appeals and threats by other organisations like "Allah Tigers", "Hizb Allah", "Al Umar", "Hizb Tigers" and many others functioning under the direct control of "Hizb-ul-Mujahidin"- the militant wing of Jamat-i-Islami, an organisation once banned in Pakistan but openly functioning in Kashmir and running about two hundred schools in Kashmir and preaching fundamentalism. All these organisations created a havoc in the Valley by letting lose a reign of terror. In their religious frenzy they attacked beauty parlours, video clubs and shops and bars and got all these places of "modern" "western" "unIslamic" character closed down. The liquor shops were broken open and wines and other alcoholic drinks looted for private use later on or destroyed by these religious zealots and finally even the cinema halls were got closed down on 01.01.1990 under threat thus rendering about ten thousand people jobless. Not only that, even the NCERT books were burnt which according to these elements were unIslamic. Declaring that the girls were not supposed to go to schools, they were threatened with dire consequences if they ventured to go to any school; however, girls could acquire only religious education at their places. Moving about with naked or half covered heads or wearing pants and other "western" dress was declared unIslamic and all females were asked to wear a "Purdah" failing which their faces would be disfigured, and reportedly some incidents actually took place in which acid was thrown on the faces of some girls who did not obey these commands and violated the directives.

While on one side such measures were being adopted to enforce Islamisation in Kashmir by these fundamentalists, Kashmiri Hindus were asked to leave the Valley, and letters were sent to their homes or they were informed on telephone that they must leave and they were given warnings about their "activities" howsoever social and even religious these might have been. They were being accused of being police informers, Indian agents and

working for intelligence agencies of India. Such incidents made it very clear that it was a common man—a common Hindu—who was the target and as such Kashmiri Pandits started gradually moving out of the Valley because of the terror created. However, killings of innocent people, mostly Kashmir Pandits continued till almost the entire population was shown the way out under terrorist threat. The number of Kashmir Pandits killed by terrorists has crossed over six hundred though some put the figure above a thousand and hundreds of others have been wounded in these atrocities. Thousands of houses of the minority community have so far been burnt in Kashmir by terrorists.

Perhaps this terrorism launched by a section of Kashmiri youth in the name of "*AAZADI*", which has met a miserable failure and is waiting a pitiable burial, would not have attracted so much of attention or seemingly advanced to such an extent or even lasted so long had not some intellectuals, bureaucrates and mischiveous double faced politicians given it a moral, financial, intellectual and even physical support all through and which is still continuing - the proof of which is the shouting of our MP's in Parliament, three month long strike by State Government employees in Kashmir Valley and proven cases of involvement of some high officials of the State Government and police personnal in the so called struggle for freedom. The militants got a shot in the arm by the strike of the Government employees in which all categories and ranks joined.

Having taken government of India for granted and for a ride during the past forty years, whipping it right and left all through at any place and in any manner to drive it in any desired direction, it has become a cult with the state administration and even common man in the Valley to cry wolf (Islam in Danger), if anything did not meet their demands or suit their interests and tastes. Every Indian must understand where Kashmir stands today and how it can be retained with India as its integral part. Political leaders have to think about these issues more seriously and not

merely worry about their chairs, bunglows, personal previleges, and self aggrandizement at the cost of national interests.

Situation in Kashmir is far deteriorated and is further deteriorating than what it appears to be from outside. With more and more sophisticated modern weaponary being used by the terrorists the security forces seem to find it very difficult to crush terrorism in Kashmir. It is only when one is caught in the mess that the rot is felt, otherwise, it all seems to be a political black mailing, political bargaining and political exploitation by vested interests. They must all realise that in Kashmir presently all political parties and political leaders have become irrelevant and the writ of terrorism runs large. It is the state administration which is to be set on rails in the first instance before one can think of any political process, and even then only those people and forces have got to be involved who really matter, who have an image of their own and are the real well wishers of India and people of Kashmir and believe in real secularism, that secularism ingrained in the five to ten thousand years old Indian culture. Whenever any political initiative or process has to be started the victims of terrorism in the Valley who have been uprooted cannot be ignored and their participation has got to be assured as the first requisite. No political exploiters, drum beaters, hypocrites, sychophants, dramatists, and actors or communalists can ensure any sincere solution to the problem. Only those nationalistic forces should be involvea who consider country above their personal and party interests. A real political perspective has got to be evolved so that the state administration can play an effective and meaningful role.

TWO MAIN ISSUES

The present turmoil in Kashmir has raised several issues out of which two issues stand out quite prominent which nobody can ignore. The two issues pertain to the (1) Rehabilitation and resettlement of the migrated entire Hindu population, and security and safety of those secular and nationalistic people of other communities who have been terrorised to move out of Kashmir

and or whose families are still held up there and those people who are still fighting the cause of India in Kashmir and (2) Retrieving, reclaiming and retention of Kashmir as an integral part of India so that there is not any recurrence of such secessionist movement, insurgency, and subversion like the one which is presently taking place in the Valley.

Out of these two issues the rehabilitation and resettlement of about two and half lakh Kashmiri Hindu migrants has become a very ticklish problem which demands an immediate and urgent solution, as their return to Valley seems to be a distant hope in view of the unabated terrorism, continued killings, looting and destruction of properties and regular encounters between the security forces and the terrorists etc. The rehabilitation of the migrants is to be taken up on humanitarian grounds as a national problem on war footing without any political mingling. The real perspective of the migrants rehabilitation is to be kept in mind. Delaying may be too risky and dangerous and lead to scattering and end of the Pandit Community as an entity in itself. It should not be a problem to accommodate this migrant population with honour and dignity and safety, even on a quasi-permanent basis outside the Valley, as demanded by the migrants during the past one and a half year and also as agreed to by the authorities, till their return is possible. It is the question of the survival of an entire community which is highly educated and whose presence can be only a boon to the land where they settle. It is the case of a minority community which has become a victim of communal terrorism of fascist forces for their patriotism and love of land. The rehabilitation of this community is a test for Indian secularism, mutual cooperation, social and religious tolerance, respect for ethnic identity about which all sections of the Indian society boast so much. Temporary and nominal relief measures may become only a farce unless other sufferings are shared and mitigated.

Regarding the second issue of the retention of Kashmir as an integral part of India, the problem seems to be a complex political

issue as the communal frenzy of the fundamentalists has been since long fast spreading its tentacles like a cancerous growth on the body politic of the Valley in one form or the other and on one pretext or the other, at the behest of Pakistan. Coupled with these plots of the enemy through her agents, the political bungling because of the wrong policies and criminal negligence by the circles responsible for Kashmir affairs in and outside the State has led to the present crisis. The Government too committed blunders from time to time which paved a good ground for subversion and insurgency and rise of religious fundamentalism and political exploitation in the Valley leading to present turmoil. In a vain bid to separate Kashmir from India at any cost and by any means (including subversion, insurgency, sabotage, terrorism and inhuman brutal killings) where only Islam could exist and Muslims alone could live, all human values have been thrown to dogs and the most barbaric, inhuman and irreligious (unIslamic) methods have been employed in the name of religious war. The issue is to be tackled firmly on all possible levels and all possible measures have got to be considered at both the administrative as well as at the political level for seeking a lasting solution to the problem, which obviously may take some considerable time to materialise. The turmoil seems to be a tough affair and a long drawn one which may take time to calm down, as vested interests seem to play more havoc now.

Kashmir has thrown a challenge to all patriotic and secular nationalistic forces in India to come together to keep the fabric of Indian nationalism, secularism and integrity intact. The Indian masses have to rise and fight the insurgency in Kashmir, otherwise they have no right over Kashmir. The secularism and integrity of Kashmir as an integral part of India cannot be made an absolute responsibility of the microscopic minority of about two and a half lakh Hindus or other nationalistic forces of Kashmir alone. All patriotic forces, from all over the country and abroad have to come forward for necessary defence of secularism and the integrity of

country. To render and secure such a help and facilitate equal participation by every Indian in this task, it may become necessary to adopt even some stern well drawn out long range effective measures in the larger interests of national integrity and solidarity. In the wake of subversion, insurgency and terrorism, even some healthy surgical measures may become necessary for adoption—like settling of ex-servicemen in sensitive areas along borders of the State (to serve as a protective defenceline) by giving them necessary incentives like free land by the Ministry of Defence by taking land on lease etc. or even by abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution, as there cannot be any better atmosphere for this action than the present one to finish with the separatist clause which has been exploited to an extreme degree by vested interests and kept the two nation theory alive to the advantage of Pakistan.

The people of India need to be educated about the reality in Kashmir and decide for themselves as to what role they can play to fight terrorism, subversion, insurgency and anti-national elements in Kashmir and safeguard the Indian interests there. The Indian people have to rise and defeat the nefarious designs of the communal forces involved in the show of fundamentalism in Kashmir and ensure that such forces are not allowed to flourish any more in Kashmir. The very sources and causes of terrorism and religious fundamentalism and its exploitation are to be unearthed and crushed. They have to demand an assurance from the Central and the State Governments that there is no yielding to terrorism in the country. The Indian people have a right to ask as to where their sons serving in the security and other armed forces are getting killed or wounded and their sacrifices cannot be compromised with terrorism, subversion and insurgency. Their martydom in this hell on earth cannot be just for the fun of it or to keep some politicians in their chairs to enjoy at any cost. The tax payer of India has a right to ask about the account of his tax money spent on Kashmir, as he has a strong apprehension that this money might be going to finance the enemies of the soil. Government of

India must realise that indirectly its coffers are funding the separatist movement, through the subsidies on numerous accounts like petrol, telephone, eletricity, transport, tourism and huge amounts spent on developmental works etc. This has got to be checked. Even the Indian tourist has now to rethink about planning his visit to Kashmir for holidaying in future lest he be kicked out of Kashmir as an "Indian dog," "Indian agent". "Infidil", "Kafir" and so on by those very people whom he has been giving unimagineable economic gains and patronage and whom he has raised from the position of a hawker, a *"rerhdewala"* to a millioner, a five star hotel owner and so on, and whose arts and crafts he has made so popular in the country and abroad. These Indian tourists will now no longer find Kashmir as charming and peaceful or welcoming (even when peace comes there) as it used to be. Other places in the State and other parts of the country can equally be developed and need to be developed, to be at least equally attractive, refreshing and beneficial as Kashmir, so that the tourists can have alternate sites for their enjoyment. Tourist industry has gained enough fat in Kashmir. Let other quarters and corners which have been ignored so far in the country also receive some attention now.

The involvement of Indian masses is very essential in the whole process of reclaimation of Kashmir, clearing it of anti-national elements and its retention as an integral part of Indian Union. Presently it appears that the writ of the terrorists supported and financed by Pakistan through Jamti-i-Islami runs large in Kashmir, and yielding to their demands in any form will mean nothing short of making them rule the land as an Islamic state where religious fundamentalism alone will prevail and the migrant Hindus will find it impossible to go back, which can have far reaching consequences for the whole country. No community or corner of the country can be left unaffected by any such yielding. If such a situtation is allowed to occur then they will have to think and plan for the lakhs of Hindus and other patriotic and secular

forces facing extinction in Kashmir at the hands of terrorists, fundamentalists and anti-national elements and their supporters and abettors. The people of India have to think about it very seriously. They cannot afford to sleep over the events. Spread of religious fundamentalism is to be stopped in Kashmir and safety, security and honour of its Hindu minority and secular forces is to be guaranteed in the larger national interests and peace in the region.

SILENCE OF POLITICAL LEADERS

The intentional silence of most of our political leaders in India and Kashmir over the brutal killings of innocent Hindus and other persons including some prominent Muslims by terrorists, rapes of young and old ladies and other babaric tortures inflicted upon the people has sent shock waves among people. None of these so-called secular parties and their leaders have got the courage to condemn the terrorist killings, burning of houses, looting of properties by these anti-national elements and subversive forces in the name of Islam. Unfortunately not a single word of sympathy has come from these people which could have given some solace, comfort and confidence to the victims of terrorism. All this has exposed the hypocritic pseudo-secular character of our leaders and political parties, thus exploiting the myth of secularism, humanism and concern for people as professed by them.

The loyality and sincerity of our political leaders, political parties and politicians has been exposed by their direct and indirect support to the militants, by accusing the security forces of "excesses" and "atrocities" while fighting terrorists and not daring to use a single word to condemn and denounce terrorists activities and atrocities. Our members of Parliament from Kashmir could stage "dharnas" in and outside the parliament over the alleged "excesses" and "atrocities" by security forces upon "innocent" Kashmiris but could not have even a single word of sympathy for the lakhs of Hindus who have been forced to flee Kashmir under the threat of terrorism and killings of hundreds of Kashmiri

Hindus accusing them as "Indian agents" and "police informers" etc. These "4% caste votes" and "elected" M.P.s from Kashmir, who cannot visit their constituencies even have accused the security forces of "genocide" of Muslims, but had no eyes to see the brutal and barbaric murders of innocent Hindus, young and old, men and women, and other secular Muslims by these terrorists. One can easily understand the links between these M.P.s and the terrorists; while the later challenge the security forces on the streets of Kashmir the former are supporting their activities directly and indirectly in the Parliament of India by accusing these very security forces of excesses who are fighting a grim battle to safeguard the life and properties of people and democracy and the country.

All these political leaders are perhaps too busy in playing their merry go round at the Centre as at any time the political scenario is likely to change. Now that there is a real political shaking the mirage of the musical and magical chairs of power continue to delude one and all of them, keep them ever busy to grab these, and we are not sure about the possible fall out of all this on our community. We have to keep a watch and be ever vigilent lest we get trapped.

TERRORISM AND FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Over the top of the silence of our political leaders is the absolute silence of our so called freedom fighters who are in receipt of fat pensions from the Government. The pension and the multitude of other benefits enjoyed by them has not touched their conscience to sympathise with the victims of terrorism in Kashmir. This has exposed the legitimacy of their winning a freedom fighters title and enjoy the benefits of the same. These freedom fighters could not speak a word against terrorism even while staying out of Kashmir. Their silence during the present turmoil has exposed the myth of their love and loyality for the country and the courage to fight for her solidarity and intergrity. Will the Govt. of India and the State Government get the legitimacy and geniuness

of the freedom fighters of the State duly verified, assessed and ascertained and their bonafides checked to see if all the cases are true and genuine, as there are reports that a number of people have succeeded in getting such certificates by fraudulant means when they are not actually freedom fighters. Appropriate action in the matter needs to be taken in the national interest. Will these freedom fighters prove true to their salt and have the courage to take a peace march in Kashmir to fight the terrorism there? Perhaps it is not too late to launch such a movement, and obviously who can lead such a march except the freedom fighters; or will other patriotic forces seize the opportunity and launch such a peace march into Kashmir and save the Valley from further destruction.

ROLE OF BHARTIYA JANTA PARTY

However, while mentioning the political parties and leaders a special mention has got to be made of the Bhartiya Janata Party. But for the role played by the Bhartiya Janata Party and some other voluntary organisations perhaps nobody would have even come to know about the plight of the Kashmiri Hindus, and the migrants would have suffered unsurmountable miseries and tortures. The migrants feel obliged to the B.J.P. and the voluntary organisations like A.I.K.S., *J&K SAHAYATA SAMITI, KASHMIRI SAMITI, DELHI,* and others for their unflinching support, material and moral, they have been able to give to the migrants at this hour of crisis taking it as a human problem and plead their cause in different forums, while other political parties and leaders only tried to politicalise the whole issue of migration and the rehabilitation of the migrants and did not have any vision of the problems involved. The political bias has only jaundiced the vision of the so called secular parties and added to the crisis which seems to prolong beyond measure as the days pass.

Let us all join together to condemn and fight terrorism of any form and at all fronts and not allow it to stick or strike in any more serious form by our biased approach.

TERRORISM DUE TO ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

While trying to explain why and how of terrorism in Kashmir, some local political leaders have tried to sidetrack the real issue and explain it as a result of economic conditions, unemployment and poverty etc. They have often been pleading that the educated unemployed had taken to terrorism as a result of economic frustration.How far is this true or correct can be assessed only after a scientific study is conducted into the socio-economic conditions and status of the educated unemployed who have indulged in terrorism directly, or indirectly by functioning as the abettors, helpers and coordinators in organising these anit national elements for their activities. Unfortunately this plea of educated unemployed turning terrorists is only an excuse to exploit them or give credence to their anti- national activities, and make a fool of people, by raising political issues . Had unemployment been the real cause of terrorism, then we would not find teachers, doctors, professors, engineers, children of political leaders, Government servants of different rank and file, high officials and the well-off businessmen, employees of police force and that too of the Muslims community alone involved in it in one way or the other. Nobody can deny the fact that all these people including the dismissed Government employees, on account of their collaboration with militants, are not economically poor or uneducated. The 1.37 lakh Government employees including the I.A.S.Officers who went on strike in sympathy with the militants or on their behest cannot be counted among educated unemployed by any stretch of imagination. Let the Government collect the statistics of all those detained by police and even the killed terrorists and their sympathisers and abettors and put the factual position before the people. These pleas of poverty etc. are forwarded by those leaders whose only aim has been to exploit the Government of India for their own benefits and cover their own failures. If there is any poverty or economic disparity, it is because of the wrong policies of those very political leaders who have been managing the affairs

of the State since independence directly or indirectly. These political parties and leaders of Kashmir have always been holding the Government of India to ransom by presenting a wrong picture regarding the economic position of Kashmir and threatening that Kashmiris would revolt and ask for Pakistan if their demands for more grants were not met. They would use other similar tactics to secure aid and bluff the central leadership which had a soft corner for Kashmir. The game has well succeeded and the Government of India continued and still is continuing to pour in tons of money for the upliftment of the State as a whole which has not been properly used and about which the Central Government never asked for any account. In fact this misuse of funds and not being accountable can be easily assessed as one of the main cause of disillusionment and frustration among the people. The money sent for the development of the State went into the hands of a few families and sections of society, leading to resentment among masses. Our leaders in India should have no doubt about the fact that the crores of rupees spent on Kashmir since independence has not yielded much and may be that some drastic effective measures have become necessary to regulate and control the economy of the Valley and make it accountable. Such measures may even include some degree of economic sanctions like restricting of developmental works etc. which, however, should not effect the food, clothing, shelter and health care of the population. Only those grants be released and sanctioned which are essential for food, day to day living and health care etc. What for should any developmental works be taken up on a large scale when there is war going on and the Government property is being destroyed ? Why should there be subsidy on fruits, handicrafts etc. when the money is going into the hands of militants ? Even the educational programme can become a matter of question when schools are being burnt and copying has become the only means of procuring degrees. What is the validity of such an education is a question asked by many people.

Obviously, the curtain has now been raised. Let the show be allowed to run to its full and brought to its logical end by liquidating all forces of secession and disintegration to maintian the integrity of the country. No anti-national element or secessionst force should be allowed to find a niche in India.The terrorists and their mentor have asked for it, and deserve such a liquidation, before the loyal and patiotic masses who are living under the threat of gun or have been thrown out of the Valley can take reins of the administration in their hands.

Kashmir has gained so much in the economic field since independence that it is perhaps the only state in whole of India where every family has a house of its own to live in and a square meal to take, and nobody can ever be seen sleeping outside on the roads in summer or winter or even begging as is happening is most of the states in India. Since independence we have witnessed a change in the construction pattern of houses in Kashmir where old houses with thatched roofs have been replaced by multistoryed buildings of concrete with all modern facilities and J&K is just like any advanced state where perhaps all the modern amenities are available. Kashmir is perhaps the only place in India where "cycle rikshaws" pulled or driven by man have never found a place as a mode of transport and now even the traditional tonga driven by a horse is no longer seen on roads except in a few remote villages for local use only. All the transport is mechanised. The economic prosperity of the State can easily be judged by the increase in the number of vehicles plying on its roads. If transport is any measure of econmic progress, then Jammu and Kashmir is perhaps one of the most advanced states in India and belies the excuse that poverty is the cause of terrorism in Kashmir. The transport industry in Kashmir is almost cent percent controlled and owned by the Muslims in the Valley and the Kashmiri Pandits have hardly any share in it.

Looking over the house tops in Kashmir one can hardly find any house top where T.V. antenas are not fitted (when there was

a time when even the possession of a radio set was a luxury). It is this progress and prosperity of the Valley which the terrorists are bent upon to destroy and very beautifully explains the classical Kashmiri proverb ***"Khyana Manz Vokus"*** (inablility to enjoy and digest though plenty is available).

The business establishments, five star hotels, bars and restuarants set up in Kashmir, rise in the number of cinema halls since indepedence when there were hardly three cinema halls in Kashmir in early fiftees, opening of numberless video clubs in every nook and corner of the valley speak for themselves about the economic development of the State. A look into the small scale industries and other industrial establishment run on subsidy from various financial institutions (and painfully on a loss) and owned by Muslim youth only in Kashmir prove the false hood of the economic deprivation as a cause of militancy.

The rise of educational institutions especially the private ones imparting education in English medium where very heavy fees are charged, the rise in the number of professional institutions after 1947, the number of jobs created every year must make us feel proud of our prosperity and development, and should not have driven our youth to terrorism.Pakistan occupied Kashmir has no medical college or engineering college. The rise in the annual revenue of the state since 1947 shows the progress of the State where in new avenues of development , fields of prosperity and opportunities of work and progress are created and exposed. It is estimated that the per capita income of Kashmir is almost double than that of the rest of country, and even then some vested interests talk of economic poverty and hold it as a cause of terrorism. If there is any poverty, it is actually on the front of sincerity, honesty, faithfulness, gratitude, thankfulness and satisfaction. Let this poverty be removed by one and all so that the reality can dawn on every body.

One wonders how our politicians speak of unemployment of the educationally advanced youth as a cause of terrorism. If unemployment of the educated youth would have been the main cause of terrorism in our youth then we should have seen similar type of

terrorism in other parts of the State as well. Perhaps the youth of Ladakh and Jammu is not in any way less effected by this unemploymet than a Kashmiri youth. If educational uenemployment would have been the cause of terrorism then we should have experienced a far more serious terrorism in other parts of the country where the number of educationally unemployed youth is far higher than that of Kashmir. If the unemployment of the educated youth would have been the cause then the turmoil created by the Kashmiri Muslim youth would not result in the migration of educated unemployed Kashmiri Pandit youth, or their killings by militants. If the militancy would have any relation with the unemployment then perhaps Kashmiri Pandits too would have supported and joined it outright. A Kashmiri youth belonging to the Hindu community had a far greater cause to resort to militancy if unemployment would have been really a serious ground for militancy. Besides then the dimension of the movement would have been quite different. It would not ask for "aazadi", nor would it shout "Indian dogs go back". Such a demand would not ask for "Nizam-i-Mustafa" or work for Islamisation of Kashmir. Such demands would not obviously be solved by the U.N.O. Observers, nor would the Kashmiri Pandits be asked to go out of Kashmir within a specific period nor would the militants resort to brutal, inhuman, barbaric killings, rapes and other terrorist activities. Had economic deprivations been a real cause of terrorism then we would not find those very politicians who clamour about it,come forth and fight for the "cause". If economic deprivation wuld have been in anyway a cause for terrorism then we would not have ten high officials of the State Government booked by C.B.I. in the Rubaya Sayed's kidnapping case.

It is perhaps the other way round which is the real cause of terrorism. The easy money got without much labour, money given on a platter by the Government of India to win over has given a lot of time to the state politicians and youth to indulge in these

activities. The ill gotten money by corrupt practices, smuggling and fraud have lowered the morals leading to unethical thinking. The politicians in their greed for chairs, to gain cheap political power, exploited the youth beyond measure and after making use of them turned them out leading to basic reaction of vengence. It is this seed of moral, ethical, and political corruption which has been sown by our politicians in the minds of our youth and the ill gotten money which is responsible for the militancy in the State. They have lost mutual trust and faith while sharing the booty of easy and ill gotten wealth forcing the youth to revolt, thus creating a vicious circle.

The easy and excess money got by a Kashmiri due to political exploitation encouraged even an ordinary hawker to join the hartals and bandhs for weeks together. If he would not have enough to eat or an assurance that his needs would be met, he would not venture such a participation. His economy was obviously well protected and guarded by the prosperous people sympathising with militants who have secured tons of money without much labour.

The present crisis in Kashmir has exploded the myth that a Kashmiri is economically a poor creature whose sustenance depends mainly on tourism. The false hopes of this pity-evoking and sympathy seeking behaviour of a Kashmiri has been proved beyond any measure by his continued support to terrorism and cooperating with the militants by observing indefinite hartals, his refusal to take ration from the Government depots on the advice of the militants and the Government employees refusal to get their salary during the three month long strike in sympathy with the militants etc. Living almost a normal routine life on his own savings (or support from militants) and conducting his business virtually undisturbed, serving sumptuous dinners and so on is a clear indication of the economic security enjoyed by a Kashmiri Muslim.

The fact that Kashmir has been able to withstand the economic

loss suffered on account of bleak tourist season during the past two years (one wishes it does not become same for the third year also) and terrorism during the past over more than one year has been reported in the Times of India (Nov.26,1990) as:

"Many people outside Kashmir, and here too, wonder how Kashmiris have survived the two year old turmoil that has destroyed tourism and also affected trade in the Valley. In fact, Kashmiris though improverished are not just surviving but living a normal life. The victims of arson and the families who have lost their bread winners in violence, are among the exceptions."

"Thousands of marriages have been celebrated this season with militants having had to enforce austerity at gun point. The professional cook, known as "waza" who charges anything between Rs.2,000/- to Rs.3,000/- for cooking one quintal of meat is in general great demand. Equally unexpectedley there is a spurt in the construction activities which has shot up the wages of the mason, the carpenter and the labourer by 30 to 40 percent."

"The myth that the valley's economy depends on the tourism has been exploded. Official figures reveal that in normal times, trade, hotels and restuarants together contribute mere 7 percent of the states domestic product (SDP). The hoteliers, house boat owners and taxi operators who have been worst hit by the non-arrival of the tourists this year constitute a small population of society. Besides, many of the hoteliers and house boat owners are also handicraft dealers and exporters."

"ANOTHER MYTH" :That the handicraft industry in the Valley depends on tourism is another myth

that has been shattered. Figures available with Kashmir Chamber of Commerce and Industry show that tourists account for bare 15 percent (Rs.3 crore) of the total sale of Kashmiri Shawls. Fifty percent sales are effected through outlets in other parts of the country while exports amount to 15 percent. Like wise 65 percent (Rs.130 crores) of the carpets produced in the Valley are exported to other countries, while sales within Kashmir account for 15 percent. The household (which means mainly handicraft) industry employ 14 percent of the work force in Srinagar and Badgam and 8 percent in Baramulla, while in other districts of the Valley the percentage varies from two to five. However, the handicraft industry has not remained totally unaffected by the law and order situation. While local sales this year have been nil, production has suffered due to curfew and "Hartals" as also the scarcity of raw material.''

"The small scale industry (non-household) industrial units have also suffered for the same reasons. They too have had the marketing problems. The two-month old strike of the Government employees has particularly aggrevated their problems, for they sell their products to Government departments."

"Like the handicrafts, the fruit industry has, by and large, withstood the onslaught of the deteriorating law and order situation. This year the "export" of fresh fruit is expected to be of the order of rupees one hundred fifty crores, while compared to last year would be less by 50 crores. The occasional disruptions to life caused by violence, curfew and crack down, did not allow the orchadists to look after the orchards well, thus affecting the production of quality fruit. Dry fruit, which would fetch another 100 crores has suf-

fered due to sharp fall in prices."

"The mainstay of the Valley's economy is agriculture, which together with allied activities contributes about 50 percent to the SDP. Besides, it employs over 60 percent of the total labour work force."

"BUMPER CROP : Nature has been benign to Kashmiris; there has been a bumper paddy crop this year. Thus even though the Government ration depots,all over the Valley, have ramained closed for two months at a stretch, due to the employees strike, there has been no food crisis, nor any escalation of prices. Infact, the cultivators have set aside a share for the poor, particularly the victims of arson. This (share) is collected and distributed by voluntary relief organisations."

"Vegetables have been plentiful and by no means dear. Town dwellers, particulary the people in Srinagar city, laid kitchen gardens to ensure against any fall in supplies. Even normal 'imports' from other States have come down dramatically. Normally, this time of the year 15 truck loads of vegetables would come to the Valley every day. But this year, only two trucks come daily. On the contrary, potatoes went from the Valley to Jammu region as usual.

"The consumption of mutton, which is a luxury, after all, dwindeld only marginally. However, the butcher's business has suffered a steep fall over the last two months as a consequence of the Government employees strike. The indifinite strike by 1.37 lakh employees means that as much as Rs.25 crores a month (that is the salary bill in the Valley) has gone out of circulation. This has had a devastating effect on the economy as a whole. Yet there is nothing like a crisis; for the strike is expected to be a temporaty phenomenon."

Meanwhile the Government exposed its weakness by yielding to the demands of the striking employees and not only reinstated the five dismissed employees against whom charges of anti-national activities were established, but also treated the period of strike on leave and promised not to take any action against any striking employee; while surprisingly the migrant employees who have been forced out of Kashmir because of the terrorism and disturbed conditions in the Valley who demand that their services be utilised properly, are being punished for their sufferings by manipulating their period of migration (as on leave) with the period of strike by the employees in the Valley which was basically anti-national and pro-militant).

It is evident that while tourists have failed to pour into Kashmir for the last two years, the craftsmen and other businessmen have some how continued their business by selling their goods as usual in the Indian market and regular supplies have been made to the Indian customer outside Kashmir in which the help of Kashmiri migrants has been enormous. There has been steep rise in the show rooms and business establishments set up in various major cities in India to conduct their business. Even in Kashmir it is reported that the shopkeepers are charging rates at their sweet will. However, the fall seen in the "export" of fruits has been because of the Hindu orchardists who have migrated out of Kashmir and whose fruits could not be properly looked after and have rather been looted and plundered in their absence.

It is a well established fact that of crores of foreign money are pouring into Kashmir through backdoor from the Gulf countries for propagation of Islam and other "activities". This black money has given a very sound economic base for the militants and their supporters to wage their terrorism in Kashmir. The Gulf money has given good moral financial support to the insurgency and subversion in Kashmir.

Government jobs constitute a small proportion of employment. The Muslims in the Valley enjoy 98% share in the employ-

ment of other sectors of its economy. Agriculture, trade, transport, police force and other establishments are predominantly dominated by the Muslims. The Muslim employment in agriculture sector accounts for more than 98% in the Valley and Kashmiri Pandits lost the ownership of the land with the agrarian reforms and "land to the tiller" manipulative act. Kashmiri Pandits constitute less than 5% in the employment of agriculture industry. In the Horticulture sector the employment of Kashmiri Hindus is less than 1.5% of the total employment while the employment of the Muslims in Kashmir accounts for 20 lakh of persons on 4,80,000 holdings under orchards.

The Handloom and Handicraft industries provide employment to above one lakh persons (about 11,000 in Handloom and 92,000 in handicraft) in Kashmir and hardly 12,000 (about five thousand in handloom and six thousand in handicraft) in Jammu. The share of Kashmiri Pandits in both these industries does not exceed half a percent of the total industry.

The membership of the handloom and handicrafts cooperative societies for 1985-86 works at 17776 in Kashmir division, while Jammu Division accounts for 9199.

The number of small scale industrial units, registered with the Directorate of Industries and Commerce provide employment to about 46293 persons in Kashmir Division, while Jammu Division accounts for 37333 persons and Ladakh for 23915 persons. Kashmiri Pandits barely account for 1% of the total employment in this sector.

Similary the number of Kashmiri Pandits is negligible and of no consequence in the Khaddi and Village Industry Sector.

The Boat Industry provides employment to good proportion of population in Kashmir. As per the figures provided by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics for 1985-86, there are about 825 house boats employing about 3300 persons but Kashmiri Pandits do not have any share in this industry.

Similarly the hotel industry in the State involves thousands of people and Kashmiri Pandits hardly figure anywhere.

Strange enough while prior to turmoil, Kashmir used to provide manual labour to the neighbouring States we are now faced with an acute shortage of manual local labour in our Valley not to speak of exporting labour outside the State. There is an acute shortage of manual labour in the Valley for construction and other developmental works. Due to shortage of local labour, the migratory labour both skilled & unskilled has found a heaven in Kashmir. These migratory labourers from Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and Madya Pradesh flow into Kashmir Valley and find wages ranging from Rs.25 to 80 per day depending upon the skill involved, when they would find hardly any labour in their own States. During the past ten years or so the rates of manual unskilled labour has gone up from Rs.10/- per day to about Rs.35/- per day and for the skilled labour (Mason ,Carpenter etc.) from Rs.25/- to Rs.80/- . The local peasant who once himself worked as a casual labourer is now engaging the labour to work on his fields.

Due to shortage of labour, the Handicrafts Department engages young boys for undergoing training in handicrafts and offers them incentives while they should have found their way to schools.

KASHMIRI HINDUS AND GOVT. OF INDIA

The present upheaval and the subsequent migration of the entire population of Hindus from Kashmir,hundreds and thousands of miles away from their place of birth, leaving behind all their properties, has to the utter surprise of a Hindu exploded the myth and delusion harboured by some that the Government of India would tumble down and hell would be let loose in India if a Kashmiri Pandit was touched, victimised or harassed in any way in Kashmir and he would not be allowed to suffer in silence. A Kashmiri Pandit must have felt shaken that no such havoc has taken place in India in retaliation to his migration; rather in proportion to the gigantic nature and extent of the problem not a

single blade of grass has moved in most of the quarters which matter in the administration by this unparalled exodus. There has not even been a mention of the sufferings of the migrants and their plight in these quarters. Surprisingly some people even do not know as to what has actually happened in Kashmir thinking that perhaps J&K are just two nearer districts in a small state and the migration must be a local affair, a local distrubance. The migration of Kashmiri Hindus has had no fall out on any corner of the country or on any section of the society. Our exodus and migration has not touched even the outer skin of our political leaders claiming to be the champions of secularism, socialism and democracy, not to speak of arousing any feelings in their callous hearts. The human problem has got lost in the political wranglings. However, apathetic attitude of all these forces whether inside or outside the administration is not meaningless. It has a significance which a Kashmiri Hindu must understand. There have been deliberate attempts to underplay the situation in the Valley. The sufferings of Kashmiris at the hands of the terrorists has not been fully conveyed to the people of India and they have not been taken into confidence ragarding the crisis in Kashmir. Due to the suppression of news and the disinformation compaign launched by certain vested interests, the real picture has not been deliberately allowed to emerge and brought before the people. Then there have been intentional attempts to spread disinformation compaign and malign the security forces so that the public opinion at the political level with regard to the crisis in Kashmir is not allowed to explode.

KASHMIRI PANDIT DISILLUSIONED

A Kashmiri Pandit has to understand the reality that he just belongs to one of the hundreds of sects/castes/communities etc. in India and not to any special category like SC/ST/OBC etc. A Kashmiri Pandit must realise that the Government has no special case for him even as a migrant (refugee), inspite of the fact that he has been the symbol of secularism and Indian nationalism,upholder

of the Indian flag in Kashmir. For his patriotism he has all along invited the wrath and displeasure of the anti-national and anti-Indian elements supplemented by the discriminatory and harass-ing attitude adopted by the administration directly or indirectly. Even occasional communal outrages have been forced upon him on one pretext or the other to provoke him for retaliation in one way or other and engage the minority Hindu community in some clash.Any event anywhere in the world which seemed to favour India or did not favour Pakistan or the Islamic world would have its fall out on the silent innocent peace loving Kashmiri Hindu minority community; be it winning of a match by India against Pakistan or Arab-Isreal clash, hanging of Mr.Z.A. Bhutoo, air crash of Zia-ul-Haq, winning of eletions by Mrs. Bhutoo, or hanging of Mr.Maqbool Bhat on account of murder charge, a Kashmir Hindu had to absorb the shock. However, because of his temperament, cultural and educational background a Kashmiri Pandit has cautiously resisted any temptation to retaliate lest the secular image of his Kashmir is damaged and communal harmony disturbed. Perhaps the microscopic character of the population too functioned as an obstacle and impediment for a Hindu in re-taliating against the brute majority of communal forces which forced him to absorb the shock. A Kashmiri Pandit staked not only his honour and property but even his religion and clutural heri-tage. He has been facing all these odds and harassing and awkward situations all these years since independence at the cost of his personal security, peace of mind, economic prosperity etc. His future hangs in an uncertainity and all that which has been dear to him and which he has been valuing than his life all through history, his rich cultural heritage, seems shattering in front of his own eyes because of the wrong policies of the State and Central Governments.

SECULAR ETHOS OF HINDUS OF INDIA

There was a great apprehension and fear in the minds of people and rightly so, that if the present insurgency launched by Jamat-

i-Islami in Kashmir was retaliated outside Kashmir and given a communal twist the whole country would be in flames. There was a great apprehension that such catastrophe would engulf the whole country which was the aim of Pakistan. It was perhaps due to this fear that the authorities did not project the problem of displaced Hindus from Kashmir properly and kept the Indian people in dark about the whole situation. There was a great danger of a major communal flare up once Kashmiri Hindus started leaving Kashmir because of the terrorist killings and sought shelter in Jammu, Delhi and other places. It was this apprehension which made a Kashmiri Hindu play safe and lie low and not to exploit the situation to his advantage, which he could otherwise easily do. He suffered in silence and continues to suffer still because of the apathetic attitude of the authorities and he does not want any communal tension in India especially on account of "his" exodus from Kashmir. Though he could have exploited the situation beyond measure, but for his love for the secular ideal and his love for the motherland and because of his cultural heritage and education, he did not indulge in any such act. Thank heavens that no communal flare up has taken place in India in retaliation to the killings of hundreds of Hindus in Kashmir, looting of their properties and burning of their houses, gang rapes of helpless and innocent women, barbaric tortures and other atrocities inflicted upon the Hindu minority community in Kashmir. Damaging the Indian interests, burning of National Flag and Indian Constitution by these fundamentalists and terrorists and their supporters were sufficient to drag the whole country into a crisis and unsurmountable upheavel. While an exiled Kashmiri Hindu and Indian dares not to (re)-enter Kashmir and move about freely there at present because of terrorism launched by religious fundamentalists and still threats are held out to him to keep him out of Kashmir, a Kashmiri Muslim is able to move about freely in India, boldly boast that he is a Kashmiri Muslim, acquire properties, get his children admitted in the best institutions and conduct his business

without any hinderance (rather special arrangements have been made and facilities provided for the promotion of sale of Kashmiri goods in the Indian market). Kashmiri Muslim has not fortunately, even for his direct or indirect support to militancy and communal terrorism launched in Kashmir, undergone any suffering as a measure of retaliation or reaction on account of any vengence at the hands of an Indian. Under this cover of business even some terrorists and anti-national elements and supporters of militancy got a protective shield to save themselves from the wrath which they otherwise so well deserve. Such elements are exploiting the helpless situation of a common innocent Muslim, who too have run away because of the fear of the gun. This whole approach and perception of the situation and gesture of goodwill towards a common Kashmiri Muslim still prevailing in the Indian masses including the displaced Hindus from Kashmir speaks for itself and must open the eyes of our misguided terrorist youth and make them realize the greatness of Indian cultural secularism, tolerance and benevolence, which obviously should not become a sign of weakness or failure. Credit goes to the secular ethos of the Hindus of the land which ensured that no communal outrage takes place anywhere in India in retaliation to the sufferings of the Hindu minority community in Kashmir forcing them to flee the Valley. The present crisis has very boldly, courageously and wisely demonstrated the secular character, the high ideals of tolerance and patience in the Hindu way of life; though some have rightly called it a timid and weak approach and lack of perception on the part of the authorities, as they could have nipped the very evil in the bud. Those elements who must have been eagerly waiting for a major communal flare up to burn and destroy India must be feeling defeated, depressed and disappointed. In their disgust they must be licking their wounds as their intentions and evil designs have been exposed and defeated, and their dreams of distablising, disintegrating and dismembering India have been shattered. Those who dreamt of *"AAZADI"* stand exposed,

isolated and crest fallen. However, it must make us aware, and we have got to be ever vigilent, as these forces may be seeking an early opportunity to emerge again in a much more ferocious manner and strike in a much bigger way.

One can very easily and safely say that present upheaval and turmoil through which the Kashmiri Pandit community has again passed since Pathan rule and rule of Sikander Bhut Shikan, is worst, most inhuman, barbaric and treachrous act by a fellow being in the modern world. The community is passing through the same phase as it faced about six hundred years back when Islam came to Kashmir, and conversion were forced upon Hindus, though, to write a secular history of Kashmir claims may be made that even these conversions were not by sword but by faith and love, while the reality speaks otherwise.

GROUND REALITY : APATHY OF AUTHORITIES AND POLITICAL SECULARISM

A Kashmir Pandit must have understood the ground reality that his calibre as an intellectual, tolerant, accommodating nonretaliating, and educated person are no qualities for his recognition as an entity in itself in a secular and socialistic country like India, but rather a disqualification and handicap before a corrupt perceptionless and pseudo secular political set up where caste and not quality or merit matter, where patriotic commitments are ignored and anti-nationalistic elements shown special favours to win them over. Perhaps the political leaders of the so called secular, socialistic and democratic parties of India think it below their dignity to enquire or bother themselves about the Kashmiri Hindus displaced from Kashmir or talk about their plight, fight for their cause or work for their rehabilitation though these people know it very well that the Hindus of Kashmir have been uprooted from Kashmir because of the wrong policies adopted by these parties and their leaders, and the Government run by them during the past over forty three years. These leaders and parties do not

venture to bother about the security, honour and future of the Hindu minority of Kashmir, lest these leaders and parties earn the displeasure or wrath of those who have caused terrorism to flourish in Kashmir and thus endanger their so called secular mage among the minorities in India. Why should they plead the cause of minority Hindu community? Any sympathetic move towards this community's plight can perhaps endanger their political alliance, their relationship, as their personal and party interests are more important to them than national interests. Then the two and a half lakh Hindus displaced from Kashmir are no *VOTE BANKS* to draw their attention or cause concern, when there are lakhs of non-Hindu Kashmiris from other communities to be appeased and to win them over for votes; though still to be brought into the mainstream of the national life, and thus to be paid special attention and cared for. Perhaps a Kashmiri Hindu is taken for granted commodity for the Indian political system, who can be ingnored without paying any price and involving any risk as he is committed to his patriotism and love of land, but everything has a limit and when that limit is surpassed................

TERRORISM AND KASHMIRI MUSLIMS

The present turmoil in Kashmir has belied a strong belief among people, especially the Kashmiri Hindus, that a Kashmiri Muslim could never take to arms because of his cultural lineage from Kashmiri Pandits, and the environment provided by our Rishis, Munis and Sufis. Unfortunately that faith and belief has been shaken and shattered and proved only a myth. A fundamentalist turned terrorist youth has betrayed that faith deposed in him and even endangered a secular Kashmiri Muslim. The turmoil has exposed the myth that a Kashmiri could not fight or face army or security forces because of his timid nature, sobre temperament and humane feelings and culture inherited from his ancestors, whose blood he still carries on in his veins. All these notions have been proved wrong and a Kashmiri terrorist has proved that he can do anything, including betraying his country, breaking his solem-

nised political commitments and even kill his own conscience by murdering his own brother mercilessly and brutally, rape innocent and helpless women irrespective of age and health conditions, and in the name of *JAHAD* do all ignoble, shameful, disgraceful and henious crimes. The fear of security forces has gone from his mind. This can have far reaching implications for the future of the entire country, as the adventure of gun culture can be quite attractive for a young mind especially when there is a regular moral, financial, psychological and positive material reinforcement to continue the insurgency from outside the country and inefficient administration inside the State. Bulk of Kashmiri youth have no longer remained a law abiding faithful citizens and have engaged themselves in subversion and insurgency directly or indirectly.

In the face of this communal terrorism a Hindu,still trying to preserve his identity, honour and cultural heritage, fled from the land of his birth to avoid an open confrontation and liquidation at the hands of these barbarians. Being absolutely unarmed for his defence, he adopted the path of least resistence and left for comparatively safer places for his refuge. He is still fighting a grim battle to preserve his cultural heritage, identity and secular ideals which are under a severe threat. However, this belief in non-violence does not mean an abject surrender to terrorism. A Hindu youth too may be forced to think of an effective defensive strategy, if not an offensive one, to preserve all that is dear and valuable to him and might be that such an eventuality forces him to take to gun and thus add another dimension to the whole situation. The non-retaliating behaviour exhibited by a Kashmiri Hindu in the face of barbaric violence unleashed against him might have sent shock waves among the communal, fundamentalist terrorists in Kashmir that, what to speak of heavy arms, not even an ordinary weapon was found in the houses of Kashmiri Hindus or in their possession about which serious allegations were made by these elements from time to time to find lame excuses to

harass and victimse the community. Their malicious propanganda against the Kashmiri Hindus has exposed these elements completely, and proved these agents of enemy as liars.

ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES

The hope and belief that the Indian intelligence agencies were a highly alert and efficient lot whose surveillance capabilities and efficiency was insurmountable has been belied as Pakistan has launched a very well planned and calculated subversive insurgency movement in India. Pakistan has gained much more benefit through this insurgency by involving local people in the subversive activities, and at the same time trying to convince the world opinion about its non-involvement in the whole game, though the world has come to know about the involvement of Pakistan in this terrorism in Kashmir. Pakistan has already engaged India in proxy war and that too on Indian soil, and with the help of "Indians"(Kashmiri terrorists). It is highly surprising and even intriguing to see how our intelligence agencies have failed to keep a track of these anti-national elements and their movements and how such sophisticated and huge quantities of arms and ammunution have been able to reach Kashmir (and are perhaps still reaching) and dumped over there for use. The whole operation must have taken years for execution and done under a very well drawn out plan. Such an operation cannot be the handi work of a few individuals only but must rather have been done in collabration with various agencies, in which obviously largely local support must have played an important role. It must have taken years to plan for the operation, especially in view of the high terrain of mountaineous ranges in Kashmir Valley. Or, have these agencies performed their duty well by sending all the relevant information to the concerned quarters, but the authorities in the Government failed to appreciate their work, take cognizence of the situation and let things drift along, because of petty political party interests and lack of perception? Where have these reports, if any, sent to the Government gone and what has been the

outcome of the action taken on these reports? This all needs to be investigated for information of Indian masses, security and safety of the country, and for future line of action. The intelligence agencies may have to prove their innocence and gear up their efficiency. Inspite of the daily claims of the Government about seizure of huge quantities of arms and ammunution one wonders how much arms and ammunution was transported into Kashmir through which route and how much time it must have taken. Even now one cannot be sure about the arms still pouring in and the agencies involved in it. As per the Hindustan Times of May 8, 1991, it appears that only a minor fraction of arms and ammunution have been seized from the terrorists while the major portion is still with them. This is clear from the following :

The estimated strockpile of arms and ammunution with the terrorists :

1,300 Rocket Launchers,
1,200 Machine Guns,
13,000 Kalshkov Rifles
8,500 Pistols and Revolvers
10,000 Anti personal and anti tank mines.
21,00,000 Rounds of Ammunution.

Of these the security forces have recovered the following:

140 Rocket launchers
115 Machine guns
1,370 Klashikov Rifles
818 Pistols
1,075 Mines
2.5 Lakh rounds of ammunution.

It means about ten percent of the arms and ammunution has been seized. How long will it take to rẹcover the balance and what about the still flowing in arms and ammunution?

The authorities have to think seriously about the whole issue, unearth the cause and not only to find out the people responsible for this gross negligence and deriliction but also punish them. No doubt the operation Topak must have provided the guide lines for such an operation. An extract of the Jamat-i-Islami plan for an armed struggle in Kashmir is reproduced for information of the readers (Section Two).

The continued terrorism with ever increasing cases of kidnappings, murders and attacks on the security forces and the malicious anti-India propaganda launched by Pakistan over its electronic media has left no alternative for India but to fight the enemy on similar lines and design and the proxy war may be carried into a real war on the soil of the enemy. Perhaps time has now come for such an action. The fact that Pakistan cannot fight India is beyond any doubt, then why this criminal delay in retaliation when national interests and our country's integrity are at stake ? An open confrontation has probably now become essential to smash terrorist camp and the proxy war cannot be prolonged too long now. India has to retrieve Kashmir fully from the clutches of these subversive forces who have entered into various veins of its life and whose writ runs large in Kashmir, before consolidating her position once again to rule effectively, and before asking the displaced people to return to valley.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT AND HINDUS OF KASHMIR

The freedom movement in Kashmir was started by the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference to overthrow the Hindu Maharaja in 1931. The movement as is very well known was launched by late Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah and others. The movement was started as an anti-feudal one but some how some anti-Hindu and communal elements too joined the ranks for their own benefit and with malafide intentions, which became clear when they turned the movement into communal and anti-Hindu upsurge by resorting to killing of Hindus, looting of their proper-

ties on the 13th of July 1931 (now being elebrated as Martyrs' Day) and again in 1934, under the banner of Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. It was only after the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference came under the healthy influence of Gandhi Ji, Pandit Nehru and other Indian leaders and the joining of the Conference by some Hindus from Kashmir and Jammu provinces, that the name of the organisation was changed to Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and brought in line with the freedom struggle going on in the rest of the country against the British power. However, one canot be sure as to how far the change in the name, painting of a new sign board and modification of the external form could mean the change of heart and basic philosophy and perspective in reality among all. The testing time for such a change came after the installation of the popular rule in the State after 1947 when it was seen that all measures benefitting the Muslim majority community were adopted at the cost of the interests of the Hindu community, which became a direct target of these laws. The whole process of administration was discriminatory against the Hindus particularly the Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley who were given to intellectual pursuits and favoured taking up mainly government jobs though a large number of them were landowners and agriculturists and orchardists as well. Such discriminatory measures did not even spare or favour the population of Jammu region which was predominantly a Hindu populated area or the Ladakh region mainly Buddhist dominated. Both these regions were discriminated on economic and other developmental fronts and these regions felt dominated by Kashmir. The Hindus of Kashmir were treated as second class citizens and all their due and legitimate share on the basis of merit, education, etc. in the avenues of appointments, admissions, promotions and other economic benefits were gradually restricted and squeezed if not completely denied or stopped. This discriminatory policy has since been continued and has been finding more and more favours with the successive Governments both at the centre as well in the State thus leading to economic strangulation and psychological insecurity among the Kashmiri Pandits and causing them to seek the basic sustenance for their survival outside Kashmir. Even the

business class of the Hindus gradually found the policy of discrimination creeping into their vitals and eating these up. Fearing an uncertain business prospectus they too gradually started moving out of Kashmir and shifted their business outside the valley.

POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

While the Kashmiri Pandits were gradually thrown out of Kashmir, special favours were shown towards his Muslim brothern in Kashmir to raise their socio-economic and educational status thus leading to an appeasement policy which has been grossly exploited and abused by vested interests. That the appeasement policy and showering of special favours would prove an asset and investment has been proved wrong. It has been a very bad investment, the negative effects of which have exposed the myth behind this false hope cherished in such an investment. The Government of India has all along been adopting an unrealistic appeasement policy with the hope that it would pay the dividends and bring about change of heart but it has unfortunately made the whole society a spoilt child demanding more and more special favours under the threat that it would otherwise look across the borders for help and cry "Islam in danger". There has been an absolute blackmailing of the Muslim majority character of the Valley by political and religious leaders of Kashmir. The adoption of an unscientific appeasement policy has created only parasites to feed on the flesh and bones of the crores of Indian masses who cannot afford two meals for themselves but feel it obligatory to give all comforts to a Kashmiri. We have to have the courage to see the reality and accept that all this has been a failure and not feel shy in accepting the truth of this falsehood, and deal firmly with the situation. The appeasement policy comaflauged under some constitutional measures has clearly failed to change the pro-Pakistan sentiments of a section of the Muslim society, and a couplet of a classical folk song composed by those who wanted to join Pakistan reverbrated through the veins of the communalistic thinking Muslims. The couplet reads as: **"Zuv Jan Vandaha Hindustanas, Dill Chhum Pakistanas Seet"** (I would give my body for India, but my heart goes to Pakistan, I long for Pakistan).

This is probably true even today not only with a small section of Kashmiri Muslims, but even with some top leaders and high ups, who feel that accession was not in their interests, but do not have the courage to give up the luxurious life they are leading in India by exploiting Indian people in the name of Kashmir and the progress they have made by remaining with India.

Even then a Kashmiri Hindu and other secular and nationalistic forces would not probably mind the gesture and would sacrifice anything to win the prodigal son back to the fold of the national mainstream provided the prodigal son, the spoilt child, the pampered parasite does return on his own with a real change of heart and prove his loyality to the soil beyond any doubt, otherwise the logical forces of law enforcing agencies have to chalk out their own strategy and course of action for maintaining national intergrity and solidarity whatever be the extent of action and related damage. No war whether an open one or a proxy one can be fought without any damage and loss and nobody can allow the anti-national and communal elements to rise especially in the garb of brutal terrorism.

PANDIT NEHRU'S ADVICE TO KASHMIRI PANDITS ON JOINING THE MAINSTREAM

While addressing the Kashmiri Pandits in Srinagar before and after independence, Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru had said that the community had various alternatives before it and he had advised the Kashmiri Pandits to join the mainstream of the social and political life in Kashmir for their survival and prosperity under the changing and/or changed national situation. Obviously this alternative was given a fair deal by the Kashmiri Pandits and the community worked shoulder to shoulder in each and every field with the Muslim majority community for a "Naya Kashmir" though the leaders of the time never kept the promise enshrined in the Naya Kashmir decleration. It was in this mix up of a Kashmiri Pandit with his Muslim brother which made Gandhi Ji see a ray of hope and light in Kashmir and which he wanted to shine over whole of

India. The Kashmiri Pandit accepted the advice. Even an orthodox Kashmiri Pandit adjusted to the changed situations and circumstances for the sake of peace, secular ideals and the integrity of the country. In this process he sacrificed a lot. Gradually his attire underwent some changes, his way of behaviour and attitude changed. He started interdining with his Muslim friends, participated openly and equally in the celebrations of the Muslim festivals. Even his daily talk and conversation, vocabulary and use of greeting language was not left untouched or uneffected. His cultural and social life under went a sea change, which was probably necessary and unavoidable for the survival of secularism and democracy in Kashmir. As a secular Indian, a Kashmiri Pandit made religion his private affair and did not bother even if his religious holidays were cut down and he did not allow religion to interfere in his official and other activities, knowing well how his Muslim brother was entrenching himself in a fundamentalistic Islamic foundation under the influence of Jamat-i-Islami and other forces operating within the state. Whatever was his position this Muslim brother found time and opportunity to perform all his religious functions during and after offical hours, inside and outside his home and so on, while a Hindu did not worry about the religious obligations so meticulously and minutely. Religion become the first priority, a fundamental issue for a Muslim. Even then there was no division or misgiving not to speak of any confrontation or misunderstanding. Each followed his own way of life and path happily. Because of the high ideals of all embracing religious and spiritual richeness of the Hindu way of life, it did not matter or worry a Hindu how his Muslim brother lived and the two lived quite harmoniously and congenially for which a Hindu, being in minority though, sacrified a lot for adjustment.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND ALL STATE KASHMIRI PANDIT CONFERENCE (SRI SANATAN DHARAM YUVAK SABHA)

Politically the community thought perhaps the Jammu and

Kashmir National Conference which was representing the Indian National Congress as a sister organisation in Jammu and Kashmir State would be an ideal political party for it to support and follow, and fight for the cause of the community. So, under the chairmanship of Pandit Shiv Narayan Fotedar, the then President of the All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (Shri Sanatan Dharm Yuvak Sabha) the only representative body of the Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley favoured that the political interests of the community would be the responsibility of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, and All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (Sri Sanatan Dharm Yuvak Sabha) with its headquarter at the Sharika Bhawan Sheetal Nath, Srinagar, Kashmir would primarily look after the social, cultural, religious, economic and other important activities related to the welfare of the community and would be its sole representative body in the community matters.

KASHMIRI PANDIT BETRAYED

However, this mixing of the community with the mainstream at different levels was not of much value and the community did not get its due share. A Kashmiri Pandit was ignored and deprived of his legitimate due share of power in social, economic and poltical life of the State, the trust deposed by a Kashmiri Pandit in the J&K National Conference leadership was betrayed and a Kashmiri Pandit became the worst victim of discrimination and deprivation at the hands of most of the National Conference leaders and their rulers under a very well drawn out plan though some Kashmiri Pandits might have gained individual favours and benefits for themselves and their near and dear ones.

KASHMIRI PANDIT AND HIS MERIT

How unfortunate it looks that the educational merits and qualifications of a Kashmiri Pandit became a handicap for his stay and survival in Kashmir. Because of his cultural heritage of thousands of years, a Kashmiri Pandit scarificed his personal comforts and convenience, economic prosperity, good food and

clothing and literally burnt mid night oil to improve his qualifications, merit and efficiency to add to his degrees and diplomas and to educate his children, while his Muslim brother because of his ignorance and educational backwardness did not value education and did not bother to achieve such an advance in the field, thus only adding further to his existing ignorance and educational and social backwardness. Unforunately the Kashmiri Pandit was made a scapegoat for this educational and social and economic backwardness of his Muslim brother who did not make use of the opportunities offered to him from time to time (though those of his clan who siezed the opportunities rose to very high position and became torch bearers for their community).

KASHMIRI PANDIT SUFFERS IN SILENCE

Having seen that this mixing did not mean dissolving the identity of a Kashmiri Pandit completely, other methods were adopted to throw him out of Kashmir. Economic deprivation, job restrictions, reducing educational facilities by way of admissions etc. and other such tactics were adopted. The enactment of the law "Land to the Tiller" deprived a Kashmiri Pandit of his land as no compensation was paid to him for the land taken away from him- an unparalleled event in whole of Independent India. Even then a Kashmiri Pandit, who was a direct target of these draconian laws, kept quiet in the larger interests of the country, and taking these as a part of the changing political scene in the State, reconciled to the changed circumstances. Finding that the roots of a Kashmiri Pandit were too deeply trenched in the history and culture of Kashmir, the communal and fundamentalist elements functioning in different forms and garbs contiuned to hatch plans for his ouster from Kashmir. Pressures started mounting upon the Kashmiri Pandit and the fundamentalists got him isolated. Very serious harassing methods started being adopted for his exodus and ouster from the Valley. These included forcible conversions by luring the poor and underpriviledged to change faith and seducing them for conversion and so on (The Kashmiri Pandit agi-

tation of 1967 was the result of such acts of seduction by the fundamentalist Muslims), encroachments upon religious, cultural and historical places of the Hindus by the Muslim zealots, changing the historical and traditional names of villages and places which had a historical and cultural background (especially those with some semblance to Hindu culture & names) and replacing these by Islamic ones to set in a process of Islamisation of Kashmir and lately the treachrous assault made on the Hindu community in Anantnag District in Kashmir in February 1986 at the behest of some political parties and leaders who wanted to see the Kashmiri Pandits out of the Valley.

KASHMIRI PANDITS HARASSED

Finding that even this gradual migration did not remove a Kashmiri Hindu from the scene of Kashmir, other harassing methods were adopted to throw him out physically. His position as an "Ambassador of India" became too vulnerable to resist any attack, and he was branded as an Indian agent, Indian police informer and so on. A Kashmiri Pandit, the original inhabitant of Kashyapa Reshi's land (Kashmir) was not welcome in his own land of birth and origin. He was looked upon with suspicion and malice and was avoided by these elements. Finally he was abused as an "Indian Dog", "Infidil" to be kicked out from Kashmir by these barbarians most of whom are the progeny of converts under duress and torture during the last few centuries since the advent of Islam in Kashmir.

The new terrorist forces which emerged in Kashmir under well drawn plan is aimed at seeing India out of Kashmir in the name of *"AAZADI"*. Due to political bunglings by local politicians during the last forty years the common Kashmiri got duped and disillusioned with India. He became a victim before the corrupt political system which placed personal interests above national interests and he felt that the only course left out to weed out this corrupt political system was to seek secession of Kashmir from India, to take revenge for his exploitation. Seizing the

opportunity the Pakistani elements incited these youths and lured them to religious fold, got them trained in the use of arms. The indoctrination worked well and militancy got roots in Kashmir. Without analysing the implications of the use of gun, these elements vowed to take revenge, even by its use. The communal and fundamentalist elements found an easy way to achieve the end by finishing any Indian element and a Kashmiri Pandit became the first and soft target for this purpose.

All these happenings were sufficient enough signals to a Kashmiri Hindu to leave Kashmir, but even then the love for his original homeland kept him behind. However, 1989 saw the end of all norms, decency, decorum, and sanity.Our traditional Kashmiri culture, the ethos of Kashmiri social life and above all the human values which our Saints, Reshis and Munis had taught us for thousands of years were at stake when the fundamentalist - terrorists asked the Kashmiri Hindus to leave Kashmir in a period of few hours and started killing innocent men and women of the Hindu community and even other secular elements one by one. The political workers were forced to resign from their parties/posts at the point of gun. This was the climax and culmination of all previous planning and the Kashmiri Hindus were forced to leave under the threat of bullets, kidnappings and killings and inhuman tortures— the main charge being that they were Hindus and Indians and believed in Secularism. Gradually the gun culture and bullets ruled—a phenomenon which still prevails and may take years to end in view of the weak policy of the administration.

FAILURE OF TERRORISM

The miserable failure of these terrorists to achieve *AAZADI* must have dashed to the ground the hopes of their mentors, particularly the Jamt-i-Islami and their allies. Even the forced exodus of lakhs of Hindus and killings of hundreds of Hindus and other secular elements and innocent men and women by these terrorists has not enabled them to realise their dream. Of late they must have realised the folly of singling out and victimising the Hindu minor-

ity community and making them special targets of their onslaughts and evil designs. They must have understood that the so called struggle for *"AAZADI"* could not obviously succeed by fighting on communal lines and by depending upon a foreign power for help. It was in the face of this fear of failure of the freedom movement launched by late Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah that the erstwhile J&K Muslim Conference in the State had thought in fit to seek help and cooperation of the Hindus and make it a secular movement and even change the name of the organisation to National Conference to facilitate the entry of non-Muslims into the party to join the struggle and get it associated with the freedom struggle already going on in rest of the country. The freedom movement of the State was a success only when all communities joined it and it became a secular movement and it could not limit itself to a communal front. The age old slogan of *"Hindu-Muslim Itihad, Zindabad"* was the backbone of this freedom movement and peace and prosperity in Kashmir as well as in India. Our communal fanatics and terrorists who became tools in the hands of Pakistan and her agents made their subversive activities purely communal and anti-Hindu tyranny and as such could never be termed as a struggle for freedom itself. They deprived themselves of any success they could have probably otherwise wished to achieve, if they had drawn everybody with them (provided others would have joined them, which obviously patriotic and nationalistic elements particularly the Kashmiri Hindus would not do at any cost inspite of the injustice meted out to them in a free and secular India as the struggle was not at all right or justified). As expected the terrorist movement has failed in Kashmir. From the reports received about the happenings in Kashmir it has now been proved beyond doubt that the terrorism lashed out in Kashmir is nothing but a armed struggle for power among various terrorist groups to gain supermacy over others in loot and plunder. The vested interests have resorted to extortions at the point of gun. There are inter-gang rivalries in which

erstwhile black-marketers of cinema tickets and urchins associated with such activities and other anti-social elements have joined at the instance of Pakistan, taking refuge under the cover of religion. They mean to ruin the rich culture and economy of Kashmir. There is no political aim for which the terrorists are fighting, excepet to create fear, terror and hatred among saner elements of the society.

HAS "AAZADI" BEEN ACHIEVED?

Now that the entire Hindu population and a large section of the secular Muslims are out of Kashmir, (or even stand isolated if still in Kashmir) have these fundamentalists and terrorists been able to achieve their "*AAZADI*" ? Even their mentor has failed to come to their rescue openly, as was promised and assured to them. Pakistan has not dared to expose itself openly but has rather used Kashmiri people and soil for such wicked misadventure which has only resulted in their own isolation and left them in a lurch-frustrated and defeated. Had these elements been fighting for the cause of Muslims of the State, then they would not have burnt the schools where Muslim students alone were studying after the Hindus had left, and they would not have made hospitals and other humanitarian institutions their target which basically helped the Muslim alone. This exposes the barbaric culture these terrorists are supposed to represent and one shudders to think as to what country they would have made of Kashmir if they would have really succeeded in their adventure. The horrible tales of rapes of innocent Muslim women and the brutal murders of their own Muslim brothern after the exodus of the Hindus as narrated by the fleeing Muslims and reported in the local papers has miserably exposed the mean and sawage culture of these terrorists, and one wonders if they are at all Kashmiris, or even their off springs. They are now feeling tossed and lost in between the devil and the deep sea or as an Urdu poet has said *"Na Khuda He Mila Na Visale Sanam, Na Idahr Ke Rahe Na Udhar Ke Rahe"* (Neither God was realised nor the embrace of the beloved, neither the su-

preme was realised nor the earthly possessions- I got lost in between). Where will these elements go now and who will trust them or own them now is a big question which must be haunting and torturing their minds. It is a reaction to this frustration and failure that the present phase of sabotage and subversions and terrorism is still continuing as a face saving device or as a suicide bid, as suicide is the only course left out to them now and they are committing it in any way and Pakistan in her determination to take revenge against Kashmiris for her failure to win their support in 1947, 1965, 1971 is abetting in this suicide bid.

KASHMIR : AN INTERGRAL PART OF INDIA

Whatever be the situtation, Kashmir will remain an integral part of India. There is no doubt about it and no power on earth can separate it from India. This fact is very well known to the terrorists as well, but somehow to come to limelight and extract favours and because of their commitment to Pakistan, they are facing and fighting death. This fact has to be borne in mind by all who have an evil eye on Kashmir, her people and India, whether inside or outside the country, and such elements cannot play Kashmir card any more. A patriotic Indian is prepared to sacrifice anything for the intergrity of his country and for which all Indians will have to rise as one man, as no fundamentalistic, theocratic State can exist in secular country like India. India is and will remain a secular country and this secularism of India is based on its five to ten thousand years old cultural heritage into which scores of other cultures have been accommodated and assimilated, synthesising all these into one Indian culture whose main tenets are love, patience, understanding, accomodation, tolerance, value of human-dignity, freedom, and concern for all with an unflinching faith in that Supreme Power which has been governing this world for billions of years. It cannot be the secularism based upon modern political necessacity or exploitation based on transitory com-

mercial interests. Unfortunately attempts have been made to propogate and exploit this politically motivated secularism for petty interests at the cost of age old Indian culture, which we have to resist now if we want to see India live and preserve its age old cultural heritage and live as a democracy.

PAKISTANIS CAN CROSS OVER

However, those of our brothern who desire to live in Pakistan are free to cross over the borders and cherish the sweet fruits of their imagination over there, and live in their own world of chaos, confusion, poverty and ignorance. There should be no hinderance in permitting such people to cross the borders if they are still welcome there. Such elements cannot be counted in thousands but may be in few hundreds. We cannot allow the whole country to be engulfed in flames for those few hundred persons. Their evil designs should not be allowed to disintegrate India.

ORGANISED REGLIGION, FUNDAMENTALISM AND STATE

That organised religion especially if run on the fundamentalistic lines can be a cementing force for a country to hold it together or build it, has been belied by the fact that no Muslim country is seeing eye to eye with each other on many vital issues of international implications and importance or issues existing in their respective countries. If a fundamentalistic religious approach could function as a binding force then probably we would not see Pakistan breaking up into two countries, thus giving a death knell to two nation theory, or in Pakistan itself we would not see Sindhi Muslims fighting Non-Sindhi Muslims and Punjabi Muslims; we would not be seeing Indian Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after the partition still being treated as refugees and being killed there or Afgans fighting Pakistan, Iran fighting Iraq for years together and recently a host of Muslim countries fighting along with America against Iraq to liberate Kuwait; had religious fundamentalism been the basis of any political stability and

solidarity, than we would not find in our own Kashmir "Sher and Bekra" groups, and Maulvi Yusuf Shah and Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah parting company during freedom struggle. If religion alone could have been the binding force than probabaly we would not have more Muslims in India than what we find in Pakistan which is an Islamic State. Same is true of the Christian countries as well, where political, geographical economic and other social factors and interests bring them together rather than the religious fanaticism. Had organised religion been the basis of any political cohesion, then India would have been declared a Hindu State long back and we would not have seen caste wars and clashes going on anywhere in India. Similar situation can be seen to exist in those countries where Buddhism prevails and nobody takes recourse to religion for building their nation. Had fundamentalism been any unifying force for political purposes, then perhaps Sikh terrorists would not be killing Sikhs in the land of their own Gurus and Saints. If there has been any worst division in the world it has been because of the religious fanaticism and fundamentalism and which is basically responsible for these divisions and those who propagate such a state are the real culprits. Politicians exploit this to suit their ends. Probabaly we do not understand what true religion means and we fight on words, symbols and images and have brought misery to the world in the name of organized religion.

In our own State of Jammu and Kashmir people rejected the religious fundamentalism long back to keep its political environment free from any communal pollution. The religious upsurge attempted by some fanatics and religious fundamentalists has miserably failed in Kashmir to achieve its aim of Islamisation of Kashmir or separating it from India on the basis of religion. Even the present upheaval which too is being run on these very lines has also failed in its aim. All such attempts have ended in a fiasco, though these fundamentalistic forces had the moral and even the armed support of an Islamic country like Pakistan and used all

torturous methods in the name of *"JAHAD"* against innocent people to fight India. This has got to be noted by one and all who may still be dreaming of the success of religious fundamentalism. They must realise that any temporary success leading to an emotional excitement, euphoria of a heavenly dreamland can only prove a mirage and the initial glamour will fade out once the reality will dawn on the minds and hearts of the exploited people.

Had organised religon in any manner been the basis of a country's political build up and solidarity then perhaps thousand of Ahemdiya Muslims would not have been killed or burnt alive in a Muslim country like Pakistan during the reign of Ayub Khan, nor would the sons of religious leaders of some Muslim Countries profess communism as their political thought,

EXPLOITATION BY PAKISTAN

These fundamentalists and terrorists whom Pakistan has incited to launch subversive acts in Kashmir with the help of some unpatriotic and anti-Indian elements in Kashmir have been made a fool of and duped beyond redemption by Pakistan, which itself preferred to stay away and did not venture to come out openly militarily, as per its plan and programme and promise to the terrorist to lanch an open war against India. Though Pakistan managed to train Kashmiri Muslim youth in the use of arms besides giving them some financial aid to lure them into their fold by exploiting their religious sentiments for subversive acts in India, it did not dare to come openly into the field. Pakistan has by this act of backing out from the promised help to the terrorists only proved its treachery to Kashmiri terrorists and got credulous Kashmiri Muslim youth defamed and made him untrustworthy in the eyes of the whole world, and endangred his life and future. Pakistan has obviously taken a revenge against a Kashmiri Muslim for having thrown his lot with India. The aim of Pakistan and her agents is only to ruin a Kashmiri Muslim and has no real sympathy or love for him, Pakistan wants to exploit the religion

of a Kashmiri Muslim for her own benefits and divert the attention of her people from the real problems facing that country. This has been, and will be the strategy to be adopted by any government in Pakistan so that it remains in power over there. It is in the interest of every political party in Pakistan to keep the question of Kashmir alive, to keep itself in power and a Kashmiri Muslim has to understand it, knowing well that majority of Kashmiri Muslims also believe in secularism and India but are made to keep silent in the face of gun, and that Pakistan only wants to use them and exploit their helplessness.

A large section of the terrorists have realised the folly of their misadventure and seen through the treachery of Pakistan. They have now started turning against Pakistan itself for the failure of the upsurge and fraud played upon them by that country. These youths who have seen both sides of the border have seen for themselves the progress and prosperity on the Indian side of Kashmir and the poverty, misery and hunger on the other side of the line of actual control during their "training" period during which they have had the bitterest experiences of the most shameful and inhuman acts performed on them. They have realised that the religious exploitation cannot become the basis of their political life and as such there cannot be any fight against mighty India with a secular cultural heritage and which has accommodated various outsiders including Islam in its fold as a measure for creating universal brotherhood.

COMPOSITE CULTURE

The composite culture of the land of Kashyap Rishi (Kashmir) as an integral part of India is a unique example of secularism in India where religious shrines of different faiths not only exist side by side but are equally revered by all communities. It is a historical fact that most of the Muslim shrines and mosques have come up where there were Hindu temples. During the Muslim rule, gradually these temples were taken over by the Muslims and converted into mosques, and shrines came up at the sites of saints, rishis,

munis and sufis. With the advent of Islam in Kashmir leading to the exodus of Hindus from Kashmir, the population of Hindus gradually dwindled with the result that the Hindu shrines and temples and a good number of places became easy targets for occupation by some religious zealots of Islam. The Hindus watched all such developments but could not help these occupations and encroachments. Even now some fundamentalist Muslims in their fanatic zeal continue to stake their cliam on other Hindu shrines and a large number of encroachments on the places of Hindus exist. However, keeping in tune with the ethos of peaceful living, even at the cost of personal inconvenience and cultural heritage as enshrined in the ancinet philosphy of Kashmir and also because of his helplessness and accommodating nature. Hindus did not retaliat. Gradually with the passage of time the Hindus ignored the earlier occupations and divisions and preferred to live in peace with his Muslim brother without opening up old wounds but rather allowed these to heal up with the passage of time. However these conversions and occupations of religions places brought a cohesion of the two communities and members of both the communities and faiths paid equal respects to the shrines of saints and sufis. Shrines of Babareshi, Chari-Sharief, Batmaloo, Lal Ded, and even the Holy cave of Amarnath (where the Gujjar family has a share in offerings) are some of the shrines which stand out as examples of this composite culture. Existance of temples at Hariparbat Fort, holy shrine of Maqdoom Sahib and the Gurdwara Chhatipadshahi near by is a unique example where people of all faiths meet and greet each other every day. It was in the context of this composite culture which has been called "Kasmiriyat", that Mahjoor the revolutionary poet of Kashmir said, ***Hind Rattan Nam to Khoor Vayan Ahli Din, Nav Yemi Vitanach Chalawan Panewen"*** (The Hindus will control the steering, they will take the reins of the nation into their hands, while the Muslims will row the boat; this way the boat of the nation will be rowed together towards progress and success).

Perhaps there cannot be any better illustration than this couplet to make us realise our joint responsibility, mutual trust and respect and coordination in rowing the boat of the nation together wherein the Kashmiri Hindu has been entrusted with the major task of controlling the steering lest the ship of Kashmir drifts directionless, as has strated happening because of the elimination of a Kashmiri Hindu from the steering wheel of the boat. It is not yet too late to bring the Valley into the mainstream and allow the Hindu his lost position, restore him his place snatched away in an attempt to elminate him from the scene during the course of time and lately by the terrorists.Saner elements in the Muslims majority community have to play an important role in restoring this last position to a Kashmiri Hindu for mutual existence survival and prosperity.

How unfortunate it is to see a Kashmiri Muslim turn a killer, a murderer whom Sheikh-ul-Alam had advised not even to lose his temper when he had advised a Muslim ***"Krudh Na Pazi Karun Akis Musalmanas"*** (A Muslim must not lose his temper), not to speak of murdering innocent men and women. The barabric culture exhibited by these terrorists and plunderers must have tortured the souls of even our saints and sufis like Nud Reshi, (Sheikh-ul-Alam), Azad, Mehjoor and many others who sang the song of love and brotherhood on the land of rishis and munis nurtured by the Hindu culture of thousands of years. How will these sawage terrorists reply Iqbal who has said ***"Bartar-az-gardun magam-i-adam-ast, Asl-tehzib ehteram-i-Adam ast*** (the essence of culture is respect for man, for his place is loftier than the heavens).

INDIA WINS FREEDOM — GETS PARTITIONED

India won freedom but after paying a very heavy price by way of its partition and communal violence following partition on the basis of two-nation theory as the Muslims demanded, maniplated with the Britishers and finally succeeded in carving out a separate homeland for themselves out of India, though a majority of

Muslim population preferred to stay back in India.

The reality of the creation of Pakistan on the basis of religion is not still being accepted by some Indian politicians and leaders out of their own compulsions but reality cannot be denied. There cannot be any bigger self deception than to deny the reality of partition and accept the truth. However, as a consequence to the partition, people might have expected that some peace and prosperity would prevail in the two countries, but as ill luck would have it, Pakistan, being weak and a theocratic State, soon dismembered and it continues to create trouble for India to destabilise it for her own benefits and to see that India does not become a super power and a prosperous country towards which goal India has already made long strides. Due to these manipulations, the external threat coupled with internal dissentions due to wrong policies of the Government, the integrity and stability of India is under threat. In this adventure, Kashmir, the only Muslim majority part in India, has become a fertile ground for such nefarious designs for Pakistan and other anti-national elements. Partition has brought no peace to any of the two (now three) countries, but rather added to their mutual bickerings, tensions, confrontations thus making all countries live under threat and mounting hostilities.

TRUST BETRAYED BY PAKISTAN

The rulers in India believed that the hand of friendship extended to Pakistan would be reciprocated with a similar gesture. While as the rulers in that country were on the other hand, busy in fomenting trouble through various agencies in India. The culmination of all such plans was the "Operation Topack" under which the present insurgency is operating in Kashmir, thus exposing the treacherous nature of our neighbour and ingratitude of a section of our own people in Kashmir who played in the hands of Pakistan and took to gun against their own benefactors. This diabolic nature of Pakistan has made a Kashmiri Muslim a target and a sacrificial goat. A Kashmiri Muslim's religious sentiments

have been touched beyond its threshold and aroused to an extreme degree of explosion by false hopes which dragged him into the whole turmoil innocently and having trapped him in this snare, hawks in Pakistan watch his suffering smilingly from across the borders. A Kashmiri Muslim being caught in the net is now finding it very difficult to come out, though he is very eager to do so seeing the failure and futility of the whole upheaval. Pakistan has by her nefarious designs used a Kashmiri Muslim as a pawn in her treachous game of fighting a proxy war against India in Kashmir and made even an innocent common Kashmiri Muslim an untrustworthy fellow and suffer along with the gulity ones. A common Muslim today feels lost and may find it very difficult to regain his foothold in the national mainstream for quite sometime and enable a common Indian to place his trust once again in him. This is the reward Pakistan has given to a Kashmiri for his "support" to the proxy war fought on the basis of religious fundamentalism.

MYTHS EXPLODED

The present turmoil in Kashmir and exodus of Hindus from Kashmir, have exploded various myths with regard to the real situation in Kashmir. The happenings must have exploded the false belief, false hope and the delusions that a Kashmiri Pandit might have been having with regard to his position in India. A Kashmiri Pandit must have realised as to where he is welcome, how far various agencies are out to help him, accommodate him and tolerate him and how far these agencies are sincere in their help and who are prepared to share their morsel with him with sincere love and affection as a human being and as a countryman. A Kashmiri displaced from his birthplace must have understood the ground reality and the hard facts of his existence as a refugee in his own land. The community has to rise and fight for its rights though the nefarious designs of the terrorists and communalists would like to see the end of the Hindus and other patriotic and secular forces from Kashmir for ever and are working for such a

situation to occur.

However, these dreams of the enemies of India, will not come true and a Kashmiri Hindu will regain his lost position and past glory though they might have been forced to leave the valley presently - for those who rise by sword fall by sword....; and God watches, waits and does justice to all for He loves all.

EXODUS — A RIGHT STEP

Since the onslaught on the Hindus in Anantnag and some other small places in Kashmir in 1986 did not result in the exodus of Hindus from the Valley, the religious fundamentalists and pro-Pak elements resorted to open killings, rapes, and other brutalities in 1989, forcing the entire Hindu community to leave the Valley. These events prove beyond any doubt, that the migration of Kashmiri Hindus from Kashmir was quite justified. The community had become a direct target of the anti-national pro-Pak elements and those forces which had been shouting *"We want Pakistan, without Pandits but with Panditanis (Hindu women)"*. Could there be any worst challenge than this to the integrity and respect of any community? The threat and the intentions were quite evident once the turmoil took roots in Kashmir, and the Community had to meet the challenge. Then the selective killings of prominent and important Kashmiri Pandits was no less important dimension of the game. Who could at the same time ignore or take lightly the threats sent through friends and neighbours in an unbecoming matter followed by threatning letters and news items,the demand for "Nizam-i-Mustafa and Islamisation of Kashmir? The indications were quite clear when hit lists were prepared which

included even those who worked for social cause of the community, the author being one among them. The displaced people feel proud in having at least saved their honour, respect and dignity.

Added to the insurgency launched by Pakistani elements the vascillating policy adopted by the authorities is making it clear that there is no clear perception of the problem among the people at the helm of affairs which, if not changed, can prove too costly to meet the challenge if we mean to finish the enemy.

In view of the conditions prevailing in Kashmir, it appears that the struggle will be a long drawn affair and the patriotic and nationalistic forces especially the Kashmiri Hindus may find it difficult to return to Kashmir soon, though they are very eager and impatient to go back to their place of birth and origin at any time.

Now that the shape of things hase completely changed and the scene has taken a definite form and the entire Kashmiri Hindu population is out of the Valley we, have to only wait and watch what shape the events take in future. As per unofficial reports, about a thousand Kashmiri Pandits have been killed by terrorists in Kashmir during the past two years and those who ventured to go back were killed to create terror in the minds of those who desire to go back. About two hundred Pandits have been injured and almost same number is missing. Also about four thousand houses of the Hindu minority community have been burnt by terrorists, so far; though all these figures may not be exact but the figures give the dimension of killings and the damage. There is an unabated spree of looting of properties from the houses of migrated Hindus and plundering of their standing crops and fruit.

KASHMIRI PANDITS : A VICTIMISED COMMUNITY MUST SURVIVE

Whatever has so far happened or is still happenig in Kashmir, is because of the lack of proper perception of the problem and adoption of wrong policies by the Government in tackling the situation from time to time. The local administration and the political parties have all made a mess of the whole situation. In this whole process, a Kashmiri Pandit has become a victim of discrimination, deprivation and insecurity at various levels and now a target of religious fundamentalism and terrorism. The fall out of all this has been that this small well—educated and talented community has got scattered throughout the country and even abroad. However, wherever its members have gone, they have earned a name for the country, the community and themselves because of their hardwork, merit and intelligence. Though the earlier migration since the partition of the country has been basically because of economic deprivation and lack of job opportunities in Kashmir a slow exodus of Pandits was always on without causing any visible political vacuum, tension or any apparant break of links with Kashmir, the present exodus forced on the community started in 1986 at a minor scale, has taken place on a very different dimension. The demand for "Nizam-i-Mustafa", "Azadi", cries for establishment of a Islamic State in Kashmir were a shock to a Kashmiri Hindu as well as to a secular Kashmiri Muslim. The emergence of a number of terrorist outfits changed the whole scenerio and what was presented as a political movement turned out to be a well planned terrorist insurgency and subversion resulting in the killing of innocent people, men and women, raping of young and old women, ransacking of houses and looting of properties. Kashmiri Pandits were singled out in this terrorist plan of liquidating all "Indian" elements, till they managed to run away; and those who are left over are no less than hostages. Any body can guess under what conditions they must be living. They have to keep a record of their movements and pay

heavy doles to the terrorist outfits and speak their language. The gun culture has dominated this scene ever since. There was no alternative for a Kashmiri Pandit but to leave his home land and seek refuge and shelter outside Kashmir to save his honour, dignity and life and not care for his property and wealth.

A KASHMIRI PANDIT HAS TO FIGHT

A Kashmiri Pandit whose rights have been violated in the worst manner and beyond description by these barbaric inhuman marauders and sawages has to rise and fight for his cause, his survival and existence. In the light of his experience, a displaced Kashmiri Hindu has to define his priorities and work out for their achievement, he has to fight on his own. A Kashmiri Pandit must wake up and stop day dreaming. He must give up living on false prestige and hopes, and stop philosophising and intellectualising every incident and event. Shedding his false hopes, beliefs, fears and dependence on some external help and support alone, he must leave armchair politicing. In the light of his experience he must chalk out a practical action plan, a workable strategy on his own for his survival not as an individual alone but as a member of the community as well. He has to keep all options open before him and play his cards by himself and not let anybody else to play for him, though help, cooperation guidance, advice cannot be denied or ignored; help must rather be sought, if not forthcoming on its own, from all quarters without compromising his identity as a Kashmiri Pandit. A practical Action Plan and not coffee house discussion are need of the hour.

SELF EXPLORATION AND THE ISSUE OF SURVIVAL: PLIGHT OF THE DISPLACED

There appears no need to explain the crisis which our community has been facing and the sufferings it has been undergoing since its exodus on account of terrorism and religious fundamentalism in Kashmir. Our mass exodus from Kashmir and migration to Jammu, Delhi and other places in India is perhaps an unparalled

event in the history of the world, when the entire population of a particular religious minority community in a peaceful and calm region of a secular country, was forced to leave its place of birth and origin. Leaving behind houses, movable and immovable properties, standing crops and fruits and other belongings the community has been forced to seek shelter on the streets of Jammu and other places in India facing scorching heat of summer months, followed by torrential rains, hail and storms, uprooting the tented accomodation and exposing young children, aged and infant to innumberable miseries. In the absence of any planned or pre-planned migration, no pre-arrangements could be made for our accommodation, forcing us to scatter in different directions-wherever one could get shelter thus separating a brother from a brother, a neighbour from a neighbour, a friend from a friend and bringing unknown faces nearer to each other in the refugee camps.

Had not some benevolent organisations, our own community forums in various parts of the country and abroad and even some individuals come to our help, our sufferings would have been manifold, multidimensional and even more intense; though by no stretch of imagination can we say that our basic sufferings have been mitigated or lessened even after such a long period of migration. We may be just living, though a good number of our migrant brothern have become victims of heat strokes, snake bites and other mishaps. The psychological trauma undergone by a migrant is unimaginable. Loss of sleep, feelings of depression, anxiety, tension, amnesia and other complaints have become very common among the displaced people. Human rights commissions cannot ignore this victimization.

CAUTION

Kashmiri Hindu community displaced from the Valley is at cross roads and any word or act of sympathy from any quarater can probably draw it towards it at this hour of crisis and especially in the absence of any sympathetic gesture from the authorities. However, any support or sympathy received from any quarter must not

make him feel any sell out. He must guard against any exploitation and misuse of his position by any quarater or vested interest in any manner in this hour of plight. Time has come when Kashmiri Hindus must speak their voice to air their grievances and have a common action programme of their own for the community and announce such a common programme from a single platform. They have to fight for their cause unitedly and on their own.

NATURE OF PROBLEMS

The nature of the problems and hardships faced by the migrants also vary in intensity and urgency. While there are Government employees who have one set of problems which need to be solved, then there are private employees, employees of autonomous bodies, public undertakings etc. who have a different tale of woes to present for redressal. The business man weeps over the loss suffered by him in his earnings, investments & establishments and so on; a villager beats his chest because of the total loss he has suffered on account of the damage, destruction and plundering of his standing crops, fruits and livestock etc., While a student has one kind of problems, a pensioner has to face a quite different situation in his old age as a refugee. Then there are direct victims of terrorist activities whose near and dear ones have been killed, houses burnt, burgled and looted. Problems of health care are no less. Over the top of the list is the problem of proper, suitable and sufficient accomodation; whether rented, self-arranged, Government provided or tented etc. The problems are everywhere. Obviously there is multitude of problems demmanding immedite attention for their soluton, but no one seems to know as to where the solutions lie and who will solve these problems. No one seems to be sure where he stands and where to knock the door. In this confusion, a sort of listlessness has set in which can lead to social disintegration, if not checked, However, there is a ray of hope as some of our friends, well wishers and some voluntary organisations are very busy in seeking some solution to all such

problems. They are doing their best but limitations can be there.

As if these problems faced by the migrants were not sufficient enough to humiliate and harass us, we see some unscrupulous elements grudging our temporary stay in Jammu, and, in their disinformation compaign against the migrants are under a plan on a look out to find faults with the migrants and highlight any such event beyond proportion. Unfortunately it seems that the term migrant has almost become to mean a Kashmiri Pandit in the present context in which it is used by these elements where as in actuality only just over half of the 'migrants' population is of Kashmiri Pandit community. These elements are on a watch to see that we donot usurp their positions and places and are out to exploit such fears of the local people with ulterior motive: though being state subjects we too have a right to stay and settle in Jammu. They also feel that we have become a burden on the economy of Jammu, but fail to realise that on an average the migrants have been contributing 12-15 crores of rupees per month to the economy of Jammu for the last two years or so, besides adding to its development and progress in many other ways. However, even then we have made it quite clear umpteen number of times that we do not want to be a burden on the people and economy of a small place like Jammu with its limited resurces and avenues of employment. Demanding an early departure from Jammu, these elements have now even started issuing threatening statements and warnings asking the migrants to go out of Jammu or face dire consequences-Perhaps these elements do not realise the consequences of such warnings and threats, and, are only trying to create a wedge. Such threats and warnings will only reduce the value of the invaluable services and help rendered by the people of Jammu to the migrants at this hour of crisis.

It is but natural that such elements will be on a look out to find faults with our people and magnify these beyond proportion to malign us. We have to be cautious and guard against such mischief. Let us ensure that our behaviour and modus operandi in

meeting our needs and demands do not give anybody a chance to doubt our integrity. We have to ensure that our means are true honest, pure and beautiful at every level of our dealing—social, economic, personal or political and so on, for means determine the end. If our means are pure, true and honest the end will take care of itself.

COMMUNICATION GAP

There is a general and perhaps a genuine complaint that even at this hour of crisis we have unfortunately a big communication gap at personal as well as at the media level. We are not aware about the sufferings and hardship of our migrant brethern in different camps and other places; how many of our people are suffering for want of proper medical and nursing care; how many children are facing hardships in the pursuit of their studies, and how many are suffering other difficulties on the economic front and so on. This information and communication gap is there because we lack our own proper media. A regular publicity and communication provision has now become a major necessity so that day to day events and happenings related to migrants and the community at large are brought to the notice of all other members, and we are able to highlight our problems for necessary redressal; also we are able to counter effectively the disinformation compaign launched against us. Lack of communication and sufficient publicity is an aspect of our existence which we cannot ignore any more.

In the context of all that has been briefly written above it seems quite genuine for the migrants of our community to feel some what disillusioned, disheartened, humiliated and harassed. The turn of events taking place in the country has added to the fears and apprehensions of migrants. There is a vague uncertainity about the possible fall out of these changes and events or other changes likely to take place in future as well, upon the problems of the migrants and their future.

MISGIVINGS

The migrants have genuine misgivings that our sufferings are not being mitigated on an emergency and was footing basis and have a feeling of disillusion and disappointment, because perhaps no clear cut directions are coming forth from the leadership, most of which is situational. They urge for an effective and, proper leadership. They feel an urgency for a leadership which is capable of giving clear cut policy of its own basically, primarily and essentially community based and oriented and without any tentacles. Our leadership seems to be divided and multiplied and there are big and small groups functioning from different quarters without any coordination among them even though all work for the cause of the community. Some appendages seem to weigh everywhere restricting a free functioning; also personal reservations keep some people away from each other, which is not at all a healthy sign for the community. The migrants feel disturbed over such divisions, reservations and appendages and feel that these might some day prove too heavy a burden for the community to carry. Our community cannot afford any sort of commitment or tie up with any particular political party or thought alone but must rather evolve such programme and plan of action of its own that enables it to seek help, guidance and cooperation from all forces and parties in mitigating the problems of the migrants and for future survival of the community without surrendering our individuality, identity and interests as a community. Attending meetings, contacting V.I.P.'s, issuing press statements, holding of regular press conferences are very important activities which we can not ignore. These activities have their own value and place in any action programme,but unless such measures culminate in some tangible results and mitigation of the sufferings of the migrants, these activities will have little value. There seems a flood of activities taking place regarding our problems but in reality there is a lot of multiplicity and dispersion.Unless all these activities are coordinated these may not prove quite forceful and effective and we may be wasting a lot of our time and energy on

these divergent approaches. All such activities must now converge.

The community feels obliged to all those individuals, groups, associations and organisations which have rendered their helping hand in mitigating our sufferings to the extent that they could or are still doing. But for this help, untold miseries would have befallen the community in these camps. However, it does not behave a well educated and intellectual and self respecting community like ours to sit idle waiting for a merciful hand to hold us and pull us up. We have got to have the will to stand and fight on our own, though help is most welcome. In view of the happenings around us, we will be forced to decide things for ourselves on our own, and we have got to be ready for such an eventuality.

In this context every member of the community, especially when we are living as refugees, is feeling an urgency for a united common platform, a common practicable and workable plan of action, unity among the rank and file of the community and use of a common language, our own community media to voice our concern effectively about our sufferings and to fight under one banner to redress our exploitation, humiliation and harassment. The community is fed up with so many divisions and emergence of unwanted groups, leaders here and leaders there, multiplication of organisations without any coordination among them. This division of forums, multiplicity of same activity, varying plans of action, if any at all given out or mooted, is making people especially the youth disillusioned and the community is drifting like a rudderless boat. This is all the more obvious in the present phase of displacement and the status of refugees we are in. The community has suffered enough all through its existence and the present exodus from Kashmir is perhaps one of the worst events it has ever faced. Everybody must have realised where we stand and what directions and/line of action we can expect and/or we must adopt for our survival as a community.

SACRIFICE NECESSARY

While the present generation may suffer unimagineable hardships, there is a general feeling that perhaps this sacrifice is essential for our future and that of our children. In fact some members feel that the community should have made such a sacrifice and migrated long back when there would have been less damage and destruction and we would have advanced a lot by now. Perhaps our love for our place of birth and lack of initiative etc. kept us back. Also perhaps our leaders in the past could not visualise what the future would hold in stock for us, and also duped by the false promises for equality they could not think of any alternative course of livelihood etc. for the community. Obviously some wrong calculations must have hindered our leaders in the past from setting up some industrial units, professional institutions and other economic avenues etc, for the community. However, we should not feel disheartened or discouraged, as such testing times do come in the history of a community out of which we must emerge stronger. Let us learn from our past mistakes and weaknesses and plan for our future. We must adopt a real practicable line of action for a strong economic base for the community so that it can live economically an independent existence as far as possible. A self generating economic base is very essential for the community.

We must feel proud over the sacrifice we have made to save our honour and dignity by risking our properties and other valuables in the Valley. We must feel proud that our community has the capacity and strength of character to sacrifice its most valuable wordly assets to upkeep its Dharma, and maintain its dignity, honour and purity of mind and body. It is this strength of character which has enabled the commuity to survive the onslaughts made on it during the past hundreds of years from time to time at the hands of barbaric forces. We are again passing through a very hard test and I am sure that we will not falter at any stage in, face of mounting difficulties, frustrations and hardships. We have got to

have the will to stand all this.

In view of the prevailing conditions in Kashmir, the unabated terrorism holding the administration to ransom, one is not sure about the future events which might take place there. The struggle seems to be a long drawn one and we are not sure when normalcy will return to the Valley to ensure a safe secured and honourable life for us there. Till then we have to seek some satisfactory solution to our problems. However, waiting may be too long and risky. In the light of the extent of issues faced by us and the limited avenues, manpower and the time available we have to work on priorities. We have to be very serious about the issues as the very survival of the community is threatened. We have to use our time, energy and resources very judiciously, cautiously and wisely. Let not non-issues attract our attention too much. Let us not waste our time and energy on some relief activities alone and get lost in them, but rather evolve a workable plan for our rehabilitation in some part of the state or even outside the state where besides minimum, suitable and sufficient accommodation there are facilities and arrangements to meet our basic necessities and requirements like education, health care, commerical activities, banking facilities, industrial works etc. Rehabilitation is to be taken up on war footing.

WHAT NEXT ?

Having somewhat settled down after getting ration cards after a great deal of struggle and standing in ques for days together, or some relief from different agencies the procurement of which consumed a lot of our time and anergy, the question which has been coming to every migrant's mind is "What Next?"; "When can I go home ?" and so on. Everybody is eager for some action and some programme as the present life in wilderness as refugees and nomades is causing a great deal of uncertainity in everybody's mind. Ration, relief or temporary tented accomodation have their own place and are definitely primary essentials for our survival, but all this cannot be an end in itself, to make us go into a slumber

or turn us into lotus eaters and let things go in a drift. People are feeling disillusioned and disappointed. They are feeling an urgency for action, change, and demand a secured and honourable rehabilitation and resettlement, a happy homeland and ask for a future plan of action and so on. In search of any possible solution to such issues and to seek clarification and a way out of this turmoil, the displaced people seem to go from one person another, one source to other, one organisation to another, one meeting to another and so on. They are the seekers. Having lost patience they are not prepared even to listen to a person and demand immediate action and a solution to their problems. There seems to be an all round confusion and frustration, as no clear cut directions are being seen by people. Petty problems which should have been of no serious significance are demanding our top most attention leading to wastage of time, money and energy which could have been otherwise better utilised for more serious, pressing and important issues faced by the community.

Some members of the displaced community express, and rightly so, that they feel disturbed and confused by certain varying statements coming from different quarters. While majority of the displaced people express an eagerness to go back to Kashmir as soon as normalcy is restored there, and till then demand some quasi-permanent settlement, some express that there is no question of going back at all as there can be no guarantee for our future security, safety and honour any more there. While some demand such a quasi-perment settlement in Jammu province which they claim to be their second home, there are others who demand such a quasi permanent settlement outside J & K State. While some demand security zones in Kashmir, there are people who due to the apathetic and indifferent attitude of the Government, demand that we must approach some international agencies and organisations for shelter and our rehabilitation or even a share of land. While in reality every member is in the heart of his heart. longing for the day when he can return to his birth place, he is suppress-

ing his feelings and urges on account of the uncertainity created by the gun-culture in Kashmir. Then there is a major demand from the displaced people, and a justified one, that they should be associated with all the activities that the Government might take up in dealing with the Kashmir situtation; be it relief, rehabilitation or any sort of political discussion as we are the worst sufferers and victims of terrorism. Kashmiri Pandits have been the worst victims of partition as this microscopic community has got scattered throughout the globe and is now being hounded out of its place of origin by the might of terrorists.

While every Kashmiri Hindu has a longing to return to his homeland, the land of his birth and origin, and once again become a part and parcel of "once upon a time happy and secular Valley", once gun culture is finished and normalcy returned over there, there have been attempts from different quarters to experiment with the community and send them back on "experimental basis" in "security zones" (which means nothing short of imprisoning them in a terror striken valley). The public postures and statements from certain quarters hint towards such experiments at times. In view of the protests from the displaced community against any such experiments the idea was put aside, and a major catastrophe averted. Any such experiment is bound to cause havoc. Kashmiri Hindus will go back only when they are assured of an honourable safe secured living with equal participation in the state matters and administration and every political process regarding future of Kashmir.

There cannot be any denial of the fact that a Kashmiri Pandit, keeping in tune with his individualistic character, and helpless situtation he is placed in, will be forced now to think and work out his own strategy for his rehabilitation and resettlement. Lack of concern shown by the authorities in rehabilitating and resettling the displaced community coupled with the lack of a proper leadership with a clear cut action plan of its own gripped in an atmosphere of frustration, uncertainity and unabated terrorism in

the Valley forcing him to remain out, will now force a displaced Hindu to make a well calculated move for his individual rehabilitation and resettlement and no promise or assurance can delude him any more. He will weigh the pros and cons of any such promise, assurance or offer; and he must do so in view of his sufferings and miseries he has faced all along. No allurement can now decieve him nor can he wait indefinitely for any so called "mercy" or "Justice" (delayed and denied) from the politicalised administration. He has been tentalised enough and feels disillusioned and is gropping in the dark to find a way out of this mess, he as to be cautious so that he does not take any wrong step in this crisis.

Though individual living is very essential, a Kashmiri Hindu must not forget that he has to live as a member of the community as well, and any step he takes must well be related to the interests of the community as well. Wherever he will go and settle, he will be called a Kashmiri Pandit and it will be his endeavour as well to maintain his identity, cultural heritage and links with his birth place. Even a temporary settlement outside Kashmir must provide the basic elements of his Kashmiri culture and ethos. In his attempt for his rehabilitation and seeking of his rights, the means he adopts must synchronise with the national policy and interests and the intergrity of his country for which he has risked and sacrificed his properties, kith and kin. A Kashmiri Pandit has to fight for his rights with his back to the wall and seek assurance, help and cooperation from all patriotic forces in the country for the survival and future of his community.

However, if forced to fend for itself, and attempt any individual settlement and rehabilitation at personal individual level, a displaced Kashmiri Hindu should be cautious that such a measure should not lead to any dispersal, scattering or disintegration of the community. Any adjustment outside the Valley should be only a temporary one. We have to resist any move which will result in our disintegration and dispersal as that will mean the end of the

community. We have to work for Cooperative Housing Societies in some major cities and towns by pooling all our resources together especially the cash donations received in the name of migrants by different agencies and the huge amount lying with various trusts, committees etc. for our settlement (especially temporary). We should be welcome anywhere in India and all should come to our help because we have suffered for being Indians (in Kashmir).

This all will need a well drawn out plan so that those sections of the community which will settle in these areas do not become a burden or cause for any concern to the local people. While thus settled, we can on our own launch a movement for our return to Valley by involving local masses and population. We have to work out for such a strategy.

STRATEGIES

In the light of all this, can we think of any well drawn out action plan with long term and short term measures for the rehabilitation and resettlement of the community. ? Can we adopt a uniform policy for the migrants to be one and fight unitedly for its cause at this hour of crisis when we have become refugees, displaced persons in our own land ? This needs curbing of all fissiparous tendencies dragging us in different directions. We must coordinate the activities of various groups, functioning within the community, to provide a comulative and integrated force. Let us work on positive points.

Can we meet to think about these serious problems in depth and evolve suitable strategies for action. My feeling is that we can, if WE WILL. May I as such appeal to one and all who feel concerned about the suffering of the community to come forward and cooperate with those who want to serve the community in one way or the other. May I appeal to the intellectuals, the elite, the experienced members of the community, the professionals and the non-professionals, academicians and others to come forward and share their ideas, views, feelings and experience openly with other

members of the community. Let each one of us contribute his/her bit without any hesitation, because even the smallest hint can be worth millions at times. Every member of the community especially the intellectual, the professional and the academician has a moral responsibility to come forward at this juncture and contribute whatever he/she can for the unity of the community and mitigation of its sufferings. Let us extend a real helping and cooperative hand, mature and experienced advice (at least those of us who can do so) to the people who have already embarked upon the task and provide them some more willing hands to work for the community, fight for its cause, and not only find faults. Obviously we cannot burden only a few of our willing and dedicated workers under the heavy weight of the issues creeping up daily. What is needed is help from all, involvement, of one and all on different fronts as one man.Who can ensure all this ? None Except we ourselves !

Inspite of the fact that there are many groups and organisations claiming to work for the community, it is unfortunate that the community, lacks an effective and functioning organisation which could represent it in different forums and before different authorities with a determination and play a meaningful role. There is an urgent need for an independent community platform, some sort of Action Committee, under an Apex Body with its own policy and planning and well defined priorities and shrewdly thought of strategies. All long range and short range measures are to be included in its functioning. Such a platform has got to be absolutely community oriented and managed. Presently such a plateform must be managed and run by the displaced people only in view of the fact that they are the direct victims of present crisis in Kashmir. However, help, cooperation, advice and guidance from well meaning community members settled outside the Valley in the past and other organisations set up by the community in different corners of the country and even abroad, must be sought and accepted. Such an organisation must include men of our com-

munity irrespective of their shades of opinion they may be holding and must essentially be of a non-party character and must not be allowed to be used for any other activities and purposes except for those directly related to the welfare, rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced people. It must fight for the cause of the community at all levels and in all directions. Such a forum must be run by men of proven integrity and maturity, clarity of thought and purpose. Such a forum is the need of the hour and it must play its assigned role as the sole representative body of the community effectively and purposefully without involving itself into any unwarranted controversies. There is an urgent need to gear up ourselves through such a forum for a meaningful follow up action regarding the decisions taken in various meetings, conference, seminars and so on.

We cannot afford divisions and multiple representations. All these activities have got to be integrated and well coordinated. Any lack of coordination in various activities and representations can only lead to adoption of divergent lines of action which may cut across each other and lead to contradictions, misinterpretations, misunderstandings, and even confrontations which can prove very harmful for the community especially at this hour of crisis. To avoid any such mishap from taking place it is very essential that a joint action programme is chalked out and issued from a common platform managed and run by men of integrity and vision. Community members will have to come out of their shells and shun their shyness and egoes for this coordination. Let not our petty egoes or interests make us strangers to each other even at this juncture of our refugee status.

Every member of the community is ethically, morally and socially responsible to play his/her role in this coordinated action programme from its inception to its culmination. We have to invite all well meaning people without any reservations to effect such a cordination and forge unity among the rank and file of the community. It is high time that some sort of an Apex Body on all India basis is formed with liason-offices in all major cities of the

country to function as coordinating representative units for the cause of migrants, so that there is proper communication and same action plan and policy is followed throughout the country and there is no deviation or variation in our representations. I hope the community will evolve such a strategy and finalise the working of such a body of migrants so that the question of rehabilitation and other problems of the community can be taken up on a very broad base. The modalities can be worked out once the principle of action plan is thought of and evolved.

SURVIVAL AND THE HOMELAND OF KASHMIRI PANDITS

That a Kashmiri Pandit will survive the present onslaught and live in future also is a reality and admitted fact, but what is to be ensured is that the Kashmiri Pandit Community lives in Kashmir, the place of its origin and birth, If the Indian secularism, which is based on the thousands of years old Indian culture and ethos and has evolved as a natural-process in the assimilation and synthesis of various cultures into Indian life, is to survive; if Kashmir is to progress and prosper as an integral part of India, then the Kashmiri Pandit Community has to live in Kashmir and maintain its thousands of years old cultural ethos and heritage, though a Kashmiri Pandit may build a number of houses outside the Valley for himself.

For this it has to be ensured that :

1. Conditions are created for the return of the displaced people to their ancestral Homeland of Kashmir, the Valley of Kashyap Rishi, amidst his fellow beings. There should be no compromise on the issue that whole of Kashmir is the *HOMELAND*, the motherland of a Kashmiri Pandit, as an integral part of the vast Motherland India.

2. The State and the Central Governments take necessary and effective steps to restore normalcy in Kashmir by crushing the gun culture and liquidating the anti-national, communal, fundamen-

talistic and terrorist forces from the land of Rishis, Munis, Sufis and Saints.

3. All necessary measures are taken to ensure the Kashmiri Pandit Community "An honourable, safe, secured rehabilitation and resettlement in their Homeland where there is full guarantee for maintaining our thousands of years old cultural heritage, religious freedom, ethenic identity and development of healthy opportunities for our economic prosperity as citizens of the world's largest democratic republic commited to a secular, socialistic and democratic constitutional set-up, and without any sort of discrimination, deprivation, victimisation or economic strangulation on any pretext directly or indirectly, and where there are full opportunities for an equal participation in the socio-political activities of the land with full freedom and without any fear or favour for any. Such a rehabilitation, resettlement and return to our ancestral homeland must guarantee that the community will not be subjected to or exposed to any further onslaughts from any communal, anti-national, anti-social elements or vested interests and religious fundamentalists and that there is no attempt to make the community to compromise its age old cultural values, ethos and heritage any more for any political or other interests in its own land of birth and origin in a secular India".

4. That the silent Muslim majority community in Kashmir plays its expected role effectively in all this process of normalising conditions in Kashmir and realises its responsibility in restoring the lost faith and trust. Majority Community must realize that the minority community is always a sacred trust with it which has got to be honoured and protected for mutual existence, progress, prosperity and survival and cannot be betrayed at any cost.

5. Kashmiri Pandits, who have been the direct and worst victims of the present turmoil and violations of human rights in Kashmir and have suffered unabated discrimination in every field since the partition of the country, are given their legitimate and

rightful place for an equal participation in any dialogue on Kashmir in each and every national and international forum, and their views are given due recognition and weightage.

6. The Hindus and other minorities in Kashmir are granted same special minority rights and priveleges to which other religious and ethnic minorities in India are entitled to under the Constitution of India, and this must include the legislative councils and other bodies etc. where such reservations can be ensured.

7. Those elements which are responsible for the present turmoil are exposed and punished under law.

8. The abettors, promoters and corroborators of terrorism and religious fundamentalism in Kashmir are punished for their crimes against humanity and the State.

9. The causes of terrorism are fully exposed, analysed and decipherd; genuine grievances and misgivings removed and redressed by taking necessary measures on this behalf, and to ensure that there is no lapse in future which can again give such elements a chance to exploit any situtation or use it as an excuse in any way. Constant vigil is a must. Extreme caution is needed.

10. The disinformation compaign launched by our enemy and its agents be properly, effectively and forcefully countered; the whole world must know the reality of the enemy's design and its intentions about our country.

11. Till such time the displaced Kashmiris can go back to their homeland they have got to be settled on some quasi-permanent / temporary basis outside the Valley at some suitable places (colonies) which are physically congenial, socially acceptable and economically viable for an educated self-respecting and respectable community for a safe, secured and honourable living, and where necessary conditions are available for a healthy survival of the community without interfering, effecting or disturbing the interests of the local population over there, though some inconveniences of a temporary nature cannot be avoided and have got to be tolerated by all involved in the process.

12. The community leadership and intelligentia too must work on its own for some suitable plan for a healthy survival of the

community and set up Cooperative Housing Societies of its own and for this purpose pool all its community resources lying with various trusts, committees, individuals (if any), sabhas organisations and also the huge collections made in the name of "migrants" by various agencies.

13. For all this an effective, workable and practical Action Plan has got to be drawn. This demands a clear perception of the situtation in Kashmir and adoption of a clear policy with right perspective from a national point of view and not let the issues get lost in political wranglings.

14. The community too has to work and stand on its own legs. However, while functioning as such, the community leadership and intelligentia have to ensure that the community's individuality and integrity is well maintained, and all have to keep a watch so that the community is not exploited by any individual or group or any political interest or party or thought in any manner. The community must seek help and cooperation from all without surrendering its individuality or identity.

15. However, if the Government fails to ensure such a rehabilitation, resettlement and return of our ancestral homeland to us within a specific period of time which obviously cannot be of any unlimited extent, and the community leadership fails to rise to the occasion and fight as a single body for the cause of the community and its survival, then the community has a right to reassess the whole situation and work out suitable strategies of its own with the Indian masses and patriotic forces of the country and involve dedicated men of the community for its rehabilitation, resettlement and return to the Valley — its original homeland.

We cannot let the blood of our martyrs,and loved ones go waste; we have to build this edifice of a happy Valley in memory of our martyrs as an integral and inseparable part of secular India and have to honour and guard the ashes of our Martyrs at any cost and by all means.

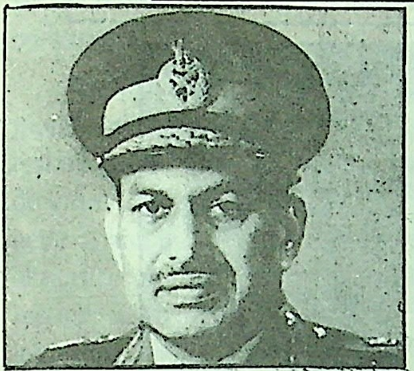
We have a right to ask for such a rehabilitation, resettlement and return of our homeland (Kashmir) to us for which we have sacrificed; Work for it, Fight for it and Get it; lest the community perishes (we perish) though as individuals we (I) may live.

SECTION TWO

THE EVIDENCE

A lot has appeared in the press about the on going terrorism, secessionism and subversion in Kashmir. Extracts of a few of these newspaper reports and write ups have been included in the following pages to bring home to reader some aspects of the insurgency going on in Kashmir.

THE THREE GOVERNORS

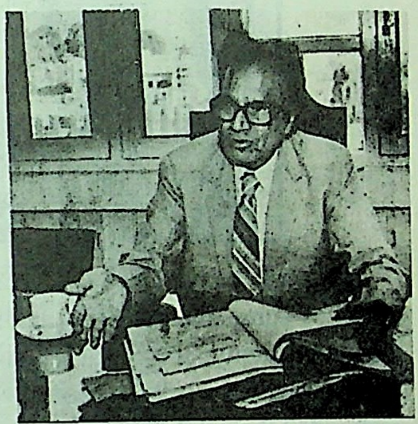


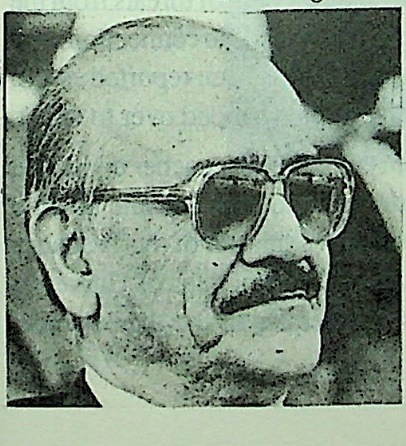
" I will make Farooq to act and run the administration".

Gen. Krishna Rao

The disinformation deluge did not emanate from a single source. It had quite a few points of origin. The principal source of the deluge was Rajiv Gandhi and his coterie. Later on, another source—George Fernandes and his associates—made their contribution. Yet another was the unimaginable ignorance about the fundamental reality of Kashmir.

Shri Jagmohan

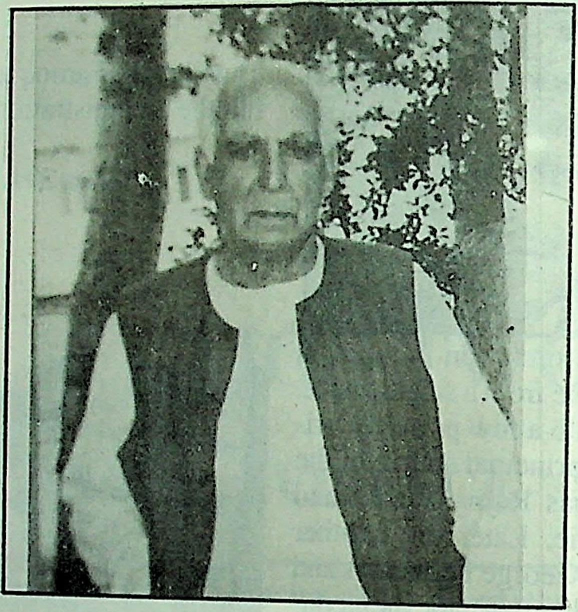




"Situation is improving".

Shri G.S. Sexena

MURDER OF A SAINTLY SCHOLAR



Pandit Dina Nath Muju, (78) a saintly scholar, was brutally murdered by some unknown assailants at his residence at 21, Rawalpora Housing Colony, Srinagar, Kashmir during the night of 6/7 July, 1990 when he and his wife were alone over there, after having vehemently pursuaded their children to leave Srinagar on account of threats from the militants. Though some arrests were reportedly made in connection with the murder of Pandit D.N. Muju, no progress has been reported so far. His well wishers are demanding that the case be handed over to C.B.I.

Pandit Dina Nath Muju was not only an efficient teacher dedicated to his profession, but was also a guide and friend to one and all who came in contact with him. He was a retired Headmaster of the Teacher's Training School, Srinagar. A follower of the principles of Universal Brotherhood as enshrined in the basic principles of the theosophical

thought, and very considerate to all living beings, should not have met such a tragic end as Pandit Dina Nath Muju met at the hands of these barbarians.

Pandit Dina Nath Muju was greatly interested in education, religious studies, philosophy, especially theosophy, Kashmir Śhaivism and teachings of Shri J. Krishnamurti. A sympathiser of the poor and downtrodden and greatly interested in the emancipation of women in general and their education in particular, Pandit Dina Nath Muju was also a life long member of the Women's Welfare Trust, Kashmir, the first institution to set up educational institutions for women in Kashmir under the aegies of the Theosophical Society.



Smt. Somawati Muju (75) W/o Late Pandit Dina Nath Muju. She too was assaulted by the assailants and injured. She was left as "dead". Fortunately she survived.

COURTESY: PANDIT DINA NATH MUJU MEMORIAL TRUST

EXTRACTS FROM THE BOOKLET "HIZBE ISLAM" A PRESENT TO THE TERRORISTS OF KASHMIR— EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY JAMAT-E-ISLAMI

No. 1 Page - 8

NORMAL INFILTRATION

(i) In the first instance infiltration in a normal way will continue to help Kashmiri brothren. They will manage political subversion to catch hold of state administration. Muslim United Front is engaged in an intrigue under different constitutional garbs to destablise the administration and to achieve their aim of setting the entire Govt. machinery at naught.

(ii) The code name of our operation in Kashmir is "Operation Topak" which is as follows:—

(a) To begin with, we have to create conditions for both unarmed and armed uprising against the state administration which may result in shaking it and causing harrassment to it, only to such an extent as may not, cause its complete collapse because it is not our aim to create conditions for establisment of central rule in the state. We want infiltration of our men into the administration so that normal function of police, banks, transport, communication and other departments is rendered useless. We will create anti-India thinking in the minds of students and farmers so that we can win them over to our side against the state administration.

No. 2 Page -9

TERRORISM - CREATE UPHEAVALS

Train youths in handling arms so that they are able to engage and face Border Security Force and other Indian Police personnel. Such a plan should be followed as may enable us to cut the communication and other links between Valley and Jammu on one side and between Kashmir & Ladakh on the other. All this has to be inplemented most secretly. Special attention should be paid to the road leading to Kargil, Zoji-La and Khar Dung-La.

With the help of Sikh extremists, terror should be created in Jammu Province so that under critical conditions the attention of the Govt. is directed toward Jammu and not to Kashmir. By doing this, Hindu community whereever in majority will loose confidence in the administration. All such places should be taken control of where Indian forces are not stationed such as the southern areas of the Valley of Kashmir; Anantnag will suit best for this purpose.

Pressure should be developed in Siachin, Rajouri and Poonch sectors so that Indian Army is compelled to remove its reserve forces from theValley. Sudden attacks should be organised to destroy the depots of the Indian military situated in Srinagar, Kupwara, Pattan, Bandipur and Chowkibal. This will have to be done according to fixed time schedule. Some Afghan Mujahideen stationed in P.O.K. should be got infiltrated into Kashmir. Lessons from the "Operation Jabralter" of 1965 should be borne in mind.

A special force of Retired Army Officers of P.O.K. comprising mostly Afghans should be raised. This force will destroy aerodromes, Radio stations and Banihal Tunnel and will block the road between Srinagar and Kargil. Such an operation will apply full pressure on different places in Jammu & Kashmir.

The last step of the plan will be freedom of Kashmir and formation of an Islamic state.

Time at our disposal is running short, steps should be taken before the elections in India and before the return of Indian forces from Sri-Lanka. By the grace of God, we have huge stocks of modern arms. These stocks will be of great help to our Kashmiri brothren in achieving their aim.

Some of our youth are prepared to face Indian military. This youth will act like Palastenian Mujahideen in villages and towns. So far as our Chinese friends are concerned they can do nothing beyond engaging the attention of Indian forces toward the boundaries between India and China. Lastly you are cautioned that we cannot succeed in a direct war with India."

It is therefore, requested that on 17th August all work should be stopped to pay homage to our beloved martyr of Pakistan Zia-ul-Haq and 15th August should be observed as Black Day.

Aim :- Islam is our aim
Quran is our constitution
Jahad is our path
War till victory;

God is great
The war cry of Hizb :
Allah-hu-Akbar.
Allah-hu-Akbar.
The cry of the Hizb:
Beware India.

ACTION PLAN FOR KASHMIRI MILTANTS CONCEIVED BY GEN. ZIA, THE PRECEPTOR OF 'KASHMIR CRUSADE' MOVEMENT

Gen Zia had migrated form Jallandar (India) to Pakistan . The 1947 riots had instilled in him a feeling of vengence against the Hindus. It is because of the same that he was deadly against India and very hard in his dealings. History stands as evidence, Gen. Zia did not enter into any agreement with the Government of India on Kashmir.

'Operation Topac' was formulated by Gen. Zia in April. The present struggle is part of the said plan:

Phase I

1) The sentiments of students and farmers be aroused against India and their co-operation will be sought for anti-government demonstrations and riots.

2) Create chaos and spread terror.

3) Impart militancy training for insurgent activities to

Mujahideens for fighting para-military forces and army.

4) Disrupt communication links between the Valley & Jammu and Ladakh Valley. Such activity requires use of minimum force and sound results.

5) Sikh militant's help be sought for insurgency activities in Jammu to divert attention of the security forces in the Valley and the Government's position made awkward, and disgraceful.

6) Taking of control of areas where security forces are not camped. South Kashmir is suitable for this action.

Phase II

1. Mount presure on the Indian Army in Siachin, Kargil, Rajouri and Poonch areas, to bring down their morale.

2. Sudden and vigrous attacks, be made on Army Depots, Convoy at Srinagar, Pattan, Kupwara, Bandipora, Chokibal.

3. Afghan Mujahideen will infilitrate from Azad Kashmir (occupied Kashmir) to intensify the freedom struggle of Kashmiri Mujahideens.

4. Mistakes in carrying out 'OPERATION GIBRALTER' of 1965 be not repeated.

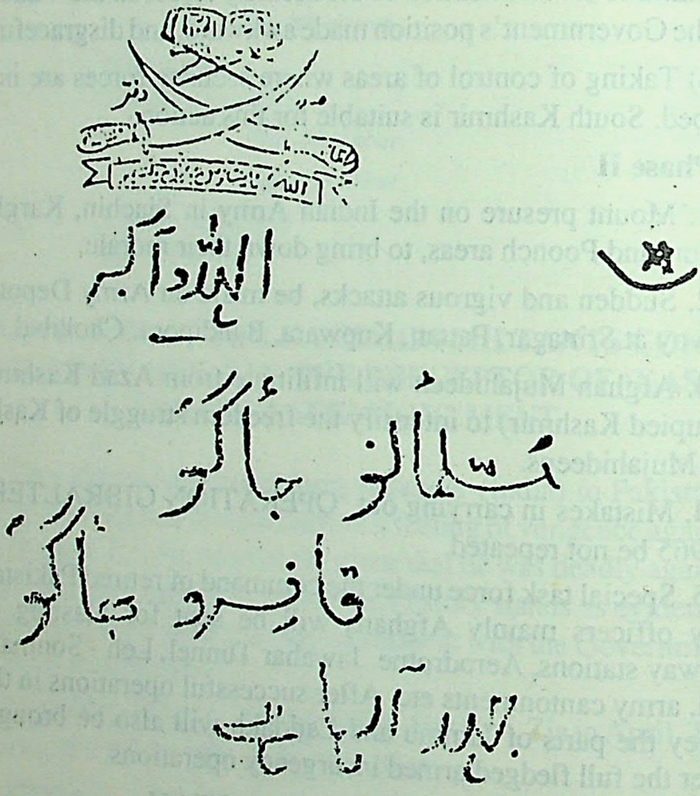
5. Special task force under the command of retired Pakistan army officers mainly Afghans will be sent for blasting of Railway stations, Aerodrome. Jawahar Tunnel, Leh - Sonmarg road, army cantonments etc. After successful operations in the Valley the parts of Jammu and Laddakh will also be brought under the full fledged armed insurgency operations.

REFRAIN OF SHABIR SHAH

The following "refrain" from Shah's speeches shows how the guidelines was followed :

"The enemies of Islam are uniting on all fronts to frustrate its mission. An example of this is the occupation of Kashmir.

But now the Kashmiri nation, inspired and guided by Islam, has woken up. The sun of Islamic revolution is rising. The children of the faith should now unite and come to the forefront to secure freedom from Bharat. Allah's will is our guide; the Koran is our constitution; Jihad is our strategy; and martyrdom is our aspiration" .



Poster/Hand bill which was found pasted at the doors and at corners of lanes of the localities where Hindus lived considerably in a good number. The Poster is issued by militant out-fit 'ALLAHA TIGERS' and reads as under :

'ALLAHO-AKBAR'
AWAKE AND ARISE MUSLIMS
RUN AWAY INFIDELS (Non-Muslims)
'JEHAD' (Islamic crusade) IS AHEAD.

JAHAD COMPAIGN IN PAKISTAN

It is now an established fact that Pakistan has been the main instigator and instrument in launching the "Proxy War" in Kashmir and very methodically planned the subversion in the Valley through her agents and monitored the whole movement through POK. This is evident from the following extracts.



Jehad fund collection camp in Lahore

JEHAD FUND COLLECTION CAMP IN LAHORE

"The imposing walls of the Jamaat complex are smeared with slogans like: *"Pakistan ek chand hai, Kashmir iska sitara"* (If Pakistan is the moon, Kashmir is its star). The Qazi 52-young by Jamaat standards-denies he is giving any arms to the Kashmiris, but asserts that for any Muslims so close to Afghanistan arms should be no problem. "The Tashkant accord put the Kashmir question in a coffin. The Simla accord hammered nails into it. Today the Kashmiris have broken out of it. They deserve support," he says and lambasts the Benazir Government for its "Indifference". Though the Jamaat is officially a member of the IJI, on Kashmir it has decided to run its own campaign. It has already organised a Jehad conference in Muzaffarabad, and plans to hold an international meet of Islamic clerics there. Given the Jamaat's links with the Kashmiri militants on one side and the ISI on the other, the nexus is transparent. And there is little Banazir can do to contain the campaign."

"How religious leaders are taking over the campaign is evident also in the rise of Tahirul Qadri, a well-known Islamic scholar, as perhaps the most significant politico-religious leader in Punjab. His new political party, Pakistan Awami Tehrik (PAT), is riding the Kashmir wave, organising jahad ralies. His media centre circulates video cassettes of the rallies, charged with *"Saathiyo, mujahido, jag utha hai sarra watan,"* Noorjehan's patriotic song of the 1965 war."

——INDIA TODAY, MAY 31, 1990

The Muslim Conference Government of Pakistan-held Kashmir has set up the Kashmir Liberation Cell, head-quartered at Rawalpindi's Chandni Chowk. Working out of a shopping complex, it doesn't look like the military training camp that the Indian Government's dosier on Pakistan made it out to be. But it is the hub of a massive propaganda effort to help the Kashmiri militants. Under Khwaja Sanaullah Shamim, the 68- year old veteran of the first pro-Pakistan movement in Kashmir in 1947,

and a member of the first 'Azad Kashmir' cabinet, the centre produces and distributes booklets on the Kashmir situation, documenting Indian "atrocities" world-wide besides keeping in touch with international human rights organisations. But even Shamim asserts that his centre confines itself to publicity: "The uprising in Kashmir is indigenous. I wish we could claim that we did it. as for the arms finding their way into your side of Kashmir, let me say that water finds its level. In these parts, if you want arms you can get them."

——INDIA TODAY, MAY 31, 1990

"In Shamim's office booklets are being written and proofed, new phone connections are being installed and mailing lists compiled. The popular response to the Kashmiri cause, as perceived from the Pakistani side, may yet be lukewarm, but when things heat up, the machinery will be well in place.

——INDIA TODAY, MAY 31, 1990

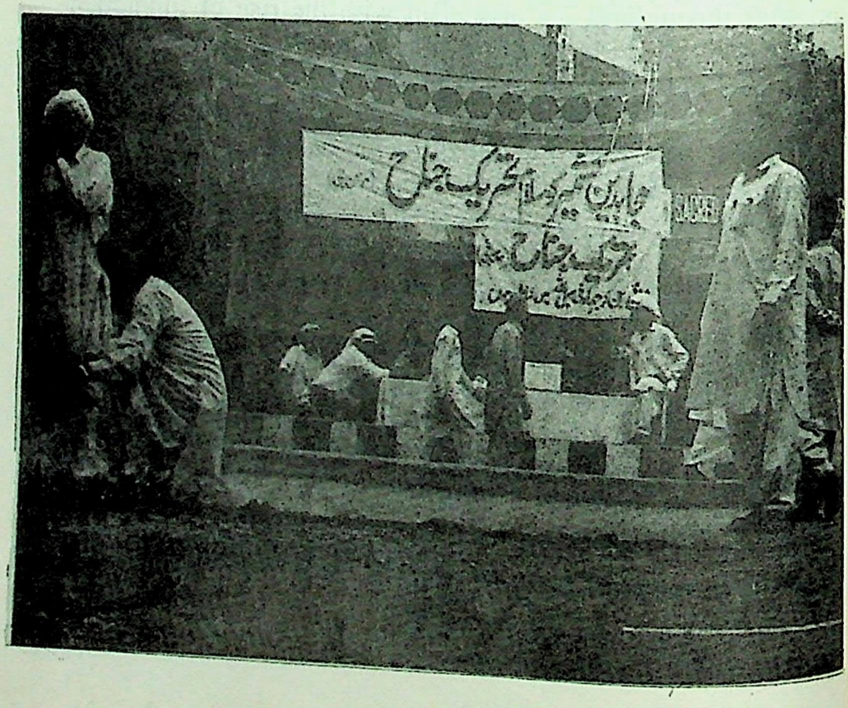
The current emotional upsurge dominates almost every aspect of life in POK. Till recently, Indian film songs were popular throughout the area. But with the rise of fundamentalism and the strident call for 'liberating' Kashmir, new songs have been spawned and lyrics have changed. The most popular cassette in POK, available everywere, is called *Kashmir Se Aati Hai Sada*. The opening stanza of the casette goes: *Allha ho Akbar/marde Mujahid/ Marde Khuda/Talwar Utha/Maidan me aa*. (Allah is great, O warrior of Islam, O warrior of the lord, pick up your sword and come onto the battle-field.)

——INDIA TODAY MARCH 31, 1991

All over POK, in villages and decrepit hamlets, anti-India processions in which effigies of V.P. Singh are burnt or belaboured with sticks have become almost a daily ritual. Young students carrying placards and banners swarm the streets extolling the public to contribute to the 'Jehad Fund' for Kashmir's liberation.

——INDIA TODAY, MARCH 31, 1991.









TERRORISTS

THE BEGINNING

The so called movement for "Aazadi" was started as simple processions leading to massive demonstrations followed by issuing of threats to the Hindus and other nationalistic people leading to their getting killed by terrorists and finally their exodus from Kashmir. The "modern" modes of entertainment and life were declared as "Un-Islamic" and as such banned under threat and subjected to destruction by the religious fundamentalists, who used religious places for propagating "Islamic" ways. Killings continued unabated. Kidnappings, burning of government and Hindu properties countinue even to day.



Tahirul Qadri leads a Jehad

"YOU CAN'T AVOID WAR"

——INDIA TODAY FEB. 20, 1990

Sardar Abdul Qayyum, President of "Azad Kashmir" has called for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. He talks of leading four lakh men, peacefully, across the line of control. Principal Correspondent MADHU JAIN *spoke to him in Islamabad. Excerpts from the interview:*

On the reason for accession to Pakistan.

Independent Kashmir would be an irritant to the Soviet Union and China. And also a stab in the back to both India and Pakistan.

On the possibility of war over Kashmir.

You can't avoid war at my cost. But there can't be war until the snow melts. Both governments are weak-that leads to desperate actions. My goal is plebiscite.

Twelve million people will lay down their lives. If nobody survives, let it be so. "Azad Kashmir" can blow up. Eighty per cent of the people are militants: retired army officers and tribals.

On activity on the line of control.

About 100 refugees have crossed over but they were people bogged down on the cease-fire line. We'll stop people from coming here. It is we who have to go there-this is going in from the wrong end.

On help from the Pakistan Government.

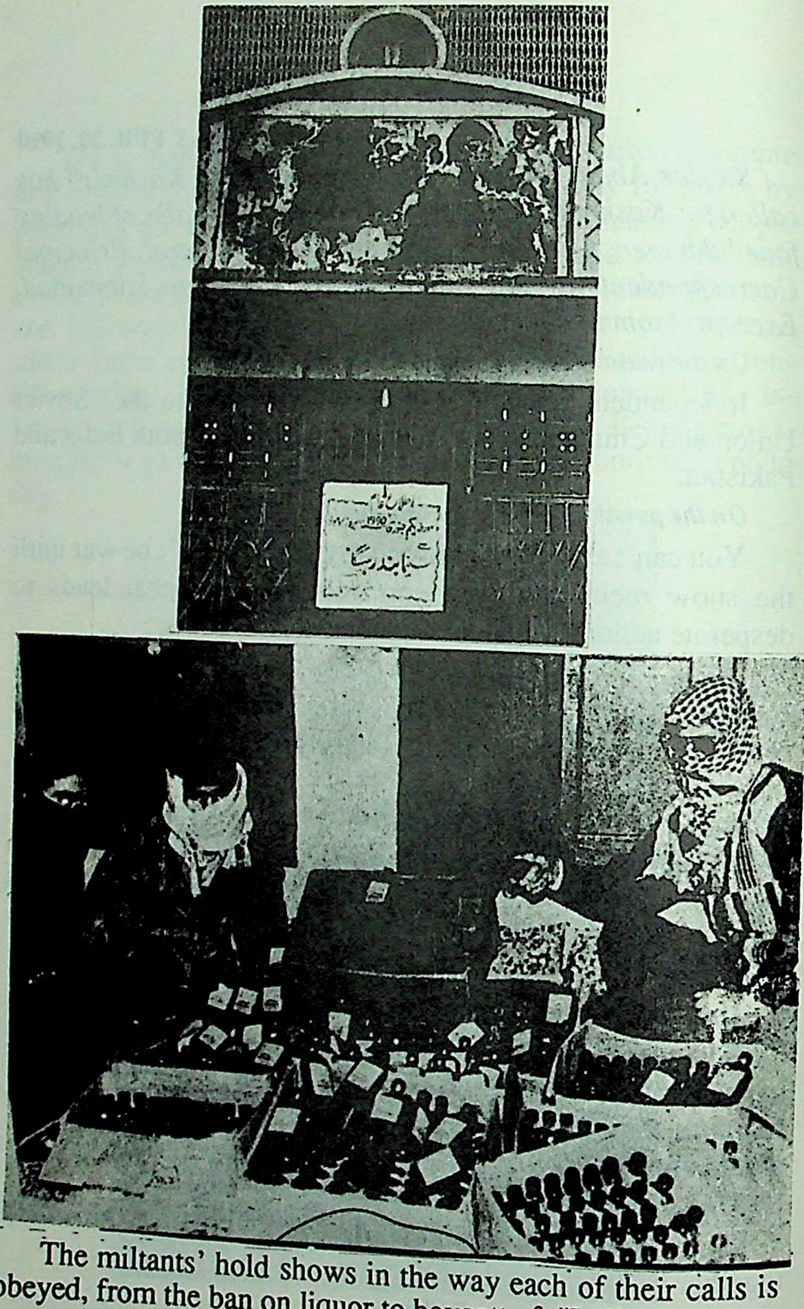
The whole nation had been united on Kashmir until what happened in Sind. Their responsibility towards Kashmir should be more than just briefings. Thy have't even made up their minds on what to do. General Zia had begun to support us.

On Kashmiri Hindus

They will have no problem. We have lived amicably together in Kashmir all these years.

On arms going into the Valley.

Not officially, but they may be trickling across.



The miltants' hold shows in the way each of their calls is obeyed, from the ban on liquor to boycott of "Indian" banks.
Srinagar cinema hall with announcement of closure (top); and "Air Marshal" Noor Khan of Allah Tigers (pistol in hand) with confiscated liquor: calling the shots

——INDIA TODAY, JAN. 31, 1990.

MILITANTS ISSUE CALL FOR AN ELECTION BOYCOTT

The 1989 Parliamentary elections were a challenge to India in Kashmir. The rigging of 1987 elections had played an important role in alienating Kashmirs from India and disappointed them, as they were exploited beyond measure. Now came the opportunity for these duped youth to take revenge. They gave a call to boycott the elections which was a success, as hardly 4-5% voters turned out to cast their votes.

Writing about 1989 elections in Kashmir, Zafar Meraj comments :

"There are no posters. no party banners or flags, no speeches or election meetings. So successful has the militants' call to boycott the polls been that campaigning by political parties in the Kashmir Valley is distinguished by its complete absence."

The National Conference (NC) is the only party to put up candidates for the three Lok Sabha seats in Kashmir-Srinagar, Anantnag, Baramulla. In Srinagar, the NC's Mohammad Shafi Butt, the only candidate, has been declared elected. NC nominees in Anantnag and Baramulla-Revenue Minister P.L Handoo and Saifudin Soz-have not addressed a single poll rally to date.

While it's hard to predict the outcome in Jammu, there is no doubt that the NC will win in Kashmir. But fear of the militants could keep the people from voting. In that case the NC's win will have hollow ring. It'll be a mockery of the electoral process.

——ZAFAR MERAJ : IN INDIA TODAY : NOV. 30, 1989.

VICIOUS ANTI-HINDU CAMPAIGN

Pakistanis sent more help to fundamentalist group of Jamati-Islami, Hizbul Mujahadeen, Al-Mehar, Al-Bakr etc., A vicious anti-Hindu campagn was launched. Films were shown on PAK TV depicting Hindus as infidels and followers of Satan. Handwritten posters of ALAH-TIGERS, AL-MUSTAFAS LIBERATION FIGHTERS' appeared in Rawalpora, Rainawari, Hobba-kadal, Natipora, Jawahar Nagar, etc., asking the Hindus to leave Kashmir by February 1990. Local News papers were virtually functining as mouthpieces of the terrorist organisations viz., Hizb etc. One of the newspapers published the threats to the executives, the senior government officials and/or people in general to close Bank Accounts with the nationalised Banks and Post Offices while another newspaper 'ALSAFA' published warnings to Kashmir Hindus to leave the Valley immediately. These threats on behalf of various militant out-fits through individual letters, posters and local media created terror and panic among the minority community of the Valley. The militants used to raise anti-Hindu slogans. They used to chant on loudspeakers :—

— 'KASHMIR MEIN AGAR RAHNA HAI ALAH-HO AKBAR KHANA HOGA'

(If you wish to live in Kashmir you will have to say 'Allah-ho Akbar')

— ASI GACHCHI PAKISTAN, BATAO ROASTAI BATNAIV SAN'

(We want Pakistan with Kashmiri Hindu women and with out their men folk.)

NEED FOR HARD AND FAST DECISIONS

Stressing that the Government of India must take hard and fast decisions with regard to Kashmir, Shesher Gupta writes:

" The Pakistani position is that Kashmir is a disputed territory and that if the "Azad Kashmir Government" insists on running a campaign in the "Indian-held" area, there is nothining it can do. The budget of the "Azad Kashmir" Government even has an annual provision for "liberation" of Kashmir. Several key politicians in Pakistan, including Nawaz Sharif, are of Kashmiri origin and, thus, even more capable of exploiting an emotional issue."

"Fresh recruits to the miltant cause are escorted across the border by JKLF guides who know the ingress routes along the border. Once in the Pakistani controlled area, the youths are whisked away to safe house by JKLF campaigners and Pakistani intelligence men. They are then indoctrinated, trained in elementary subversion- the use of fireams and explosives-for three to four weeks and then sent back. "If you had informed us earlier we would have shown you our rocket launchers as well," said Umar Javed (Not his real name), one of the three extremists who happily posed for pictures. "Right now the Pakistanis have told us to wait for the opportune time to strike decisively." No Kashmiri militant or sympathiser denies the Pakistani link. The Kashmiri Militants are highly motivated and still reasonably chaste unlike some militant organisations in Punjab which have taken to large scale crime and extortion."

"There is no wishing away the reality-the roots of this motivation lie in the sequence of events in 1947 which led to the accession of the state to India-and the new Government at the Centre has to quickly learn to live with the situation. There is not much by way of concessions the Government can make to the militants when there is already widespread questioning by the BJP of the special status accorded to the state under Article 370 of the Constitution."

"Perhaps the best aproach right now would be a velvet-glove-and-mailed-fist policy involving the dismissal of the Farooq Government, posting of a benevolent yet tough Governor and a crackdown on the miltants. Also utmost care should be taken to keep whatever remains of the middleground sanitised. Implemented properly and with a sense of purpose, such a policy could halt the slide. With time, doubt and dissension will begin to emerge even among the ranks of the extremists. There are a lot of idelogical difference between groups like the JKLF which is reasonably secular and socialist-and fights on the slogan of *"Kashmir banega khudmukhtar"* (Kashmir will be independent)-and some of the more fanatical groups that believe in revolutionary Islam and the slogan of "Kashmir banega Pakistan". It is a proven fact that doubt, dissension and self-questioning among extremist ranks begin only when their campaign is halted effectively and the pressure increased to levels where it hurts."

"To achieve that, the Centre will have to take hard decisions fast. Otherwise, as with Assam and Punjab, it will end up a victim of the classic onion thief syndrome. When the village idiot was caught stealing onions, the Panchayat gave him the option of choosing between two punishments: eating a 100 onions or suffering a 100 lashes. He chose onions, gave up after eating 10 and asked for lashes; then changed his mind after receiving 10 lashers, and so on. Ultimately, he ended up bearing the agony of both. It is not uncommon for a indecisive government to end up in the same manner in a situation of civil strife, Unable to choose between a hard and soft line it ends up using a hard line, alienating people and yet making all the concessions in the end. The Indian stay by now should have enough accumulated experience to avoid such a trap once again.

——SHEKHAR GUPTA IN INDIA TODAY JAN. 31, 1990.

(How unfortunate it was to remove Shri Jagmohan at this juncture when he had gained some ground in curbing militancy; perhaps the powers that be were eager to adopt the onion thief syndrome)

NOTICE CIRCULATED FOR INFORMATION BY AREA COMMANDER, SOPORE OF MILITANT OUT FIT 'ANSAR ULLAH'

All Mujahideen brothers are informed ASHOK KUMAR AND JAWAHAR LAL residents of RAFIABAD have migrated from the Valley. These infidels are working against Islam and are informers of police and are R.S.S. workers. These informers have given the names of militants to intelligence agencies which has resulted into killling and arrest of our colleagues. These infidels want to return to Valley. I appeal to all militant brothers to keep an eye on them and catch them alive and hand them over to us.

ARMS TRAINING BY PAK TO J&K WOMEN

Over 200 young women and girls from Kashmir were getting arms training in special camps in the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), according to top official sources.

The sources said women and girls between the ages of 16 and 20 were being trained in the handling of small weapons and explosive material.

These camps have been organised for them by the Pakistan Government, the sources said.

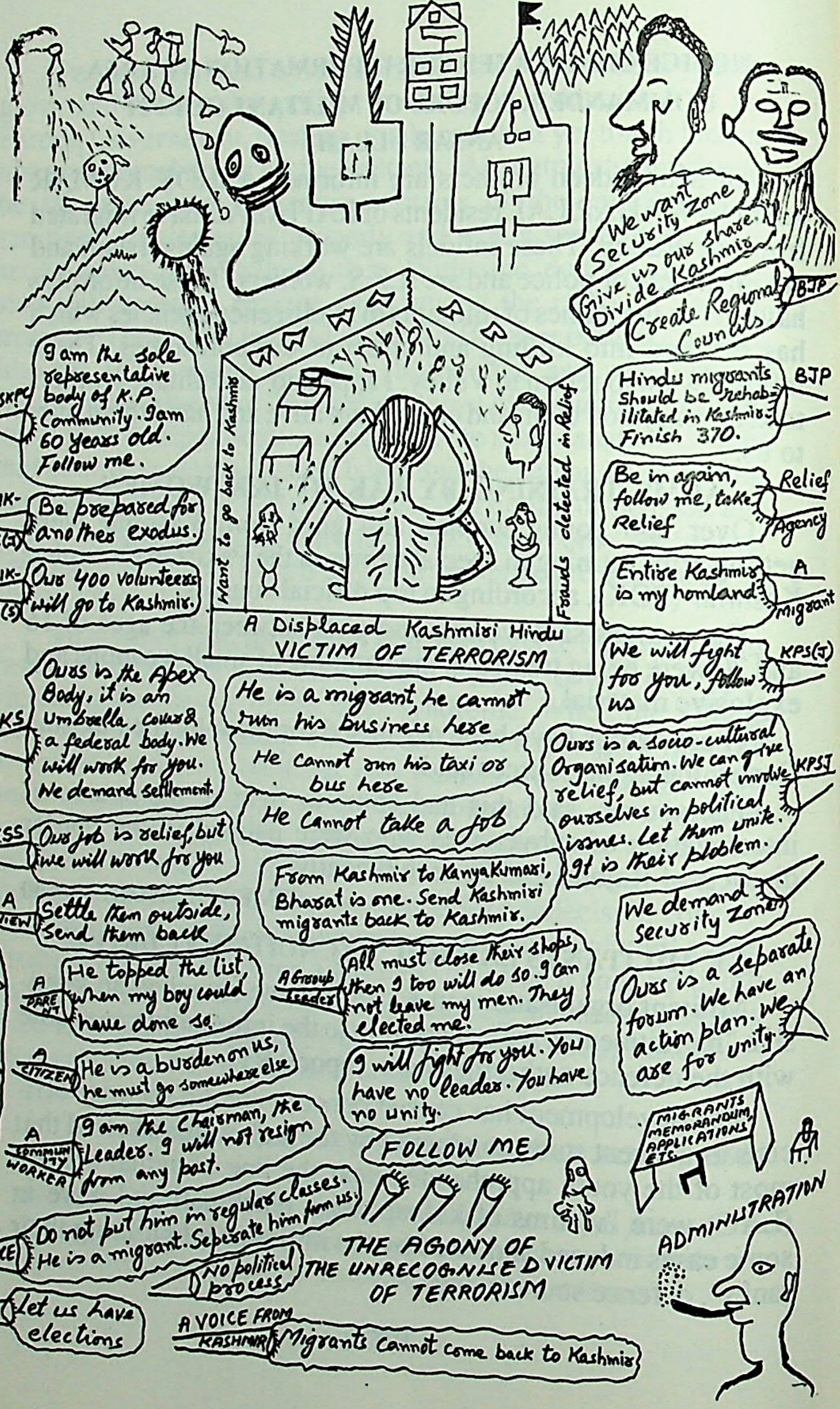
The sources said this had come to light in the course of interrogation of subversives who were nabbed in the border districts of Rajouri and Poonch recently.

——TIMES OF INDIA 29.8.90

J-K MILITANTS LAUNCH 'RECRUITMENT DRIVE'

Militant organisations in Kashmir have launched an intensive "recruitment drive", according to the information available with the defence authorities here, reports PTI.

The development has caused concern among security officials as a recent study conducted by the authorities showed that most of the youth apprehended near the line of actual control (LAC) were "victims of kidnappings, blackmail and were in some cases induced and lured by the militants into joining their ranks", defence sources said.



DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

They said the militants had embarked on a fresh recruitment drive and intensified their activities to stall moves by the Centre to initiate a political process in the state .

The mode of recuritment by the militant groups became apparent during interrogations by the army of a group of 16 "would-be militants" at the Badamibagh cantonment, an army officer said

Detailed investigations and interrogation of the youth had revealed an emerging pattern, an army officer said.

Handed over: The army handed over the 16 youth to their parents on the occasion of 'Gandhi Jayanti' yesterday.

All of them, in the age group of 17-30, were part of a group of 27 who tried to cross over to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir for arms training. but were caught by Indian soldiers on September 15.

Eight of the group, including two "guides", were shot dead by the army personnel guarding the LAC when they refused to surrender, the released youth said.

The army officer said most of them were either kidnapped or forced under threat of bodily harm, blackmailed in some cases, induced and lured by the militants into joining their ranks.

Militant organisations, hard pressed for volunteers, had started resorting to kidnapping, coercion and blackmail to com-pel the youth across the border for arms training since militancy as a means of solving political problems had apparently lost its charm, the officer said.

All youth revealed that they were forcibly taken by the activists of Tehreek-ul-Mujahideen for arms training across the border.

Victim's Tale : One of them, Bilal Ahmad Sofi, said he was abducted by three persons while he was on his way to school on September 8, blind-folded and taken to an unknown destination, from where he was taken to the border.

A class X student, Bilal said he found himself in Sopore and that the persons who kidnapped him were activists of Tehreek-

ul-Mujahideen.

Sofi said in all there were 27 youth in the group of whom eight were killed and two injured when the army opened fire on them near the LAC.

Asked about his reaction if the militants tried to kidnap him again, he said he would "prefer to die" than join them.

Similar views were expressed by the other boys.

Riyaz Ahmed, a matriculate, said he was kidnapped on August 28 and kept under captivity for 10 days before being taken to the border.

--TIMES OF INDIA OCT 4, 1991.

YOUTH FORCED ON GUN POINT TO UNDERGO ARMS TRAINING IN PAK

More evidence of incitement, alurement and encouragement of innocent youth by Pakistan and its agents have come up following interrogation of several youths arrested by the Security Forces in the State.

Arrested youth including some boys of tender age, have revealed how militants coerced the un-willing and innocent youth at gun point to go to POK for arms training or take up subversive activities within the Valley.

A group of four youths belonging to Pulwama and Badgam districts of the Valley who were recently arrested near the Line of Actual Control in Poonch sector have narrated to a group of media persons how they fell prey to the pressure tactics and threats of the 'Mujahids'. unmindful of the cause they pretended to espouse or the real purpose of taking them to POK.

These four youth who left their homes on October 6. without telling their parents under the influence of one Mohammad Ramzan Khandey alias Shah Skander, told their horrifying tale to the newsmen and how they survived. They said they were forced to eat grass and drink water only during 11 days and in the meanwhile one of their colleagues who had grown weak due to hunger and was unable to move quickly due to swollen feet was killed by the group leader Mohammad Ramzan Khandey.

They said that they wanted to return to their homes but the guide who was armed with pistol did not permit them. Some of the boys were keen to send message to the youths of Kashmir not to fall prey to the handiwork of the militants or venture to go across the border. They said they were much happy in their homes and now curse the guide.

Mohammad Hussain, 20 year-boy of Abhama village of Pulwama district, told newsmen that everyone of them was given a code name by Skander, during their torturous and hazardous journey from their villages to Poonch. Narrating his tale of woes starting with a meeting of Skander some time last month, the remorseful Mohammad Hussain said that Skander armed with a pistol came to his house on 6th October and asked him to accompany him. He took him to Sangarwahi village and lodged him alongwith four others in a house. He was not told where he was being taken to. Skander who was taking the five innocent youth to unknown destination brought nearly 60 'Chapatis' from some one in the village for the journey. These lasted hardly for two days. It was only during the course of journey that Skander told the youth that they were being taken to Pakistan for training and lot of money will be given to them. Mohammad Hussain said that he had told Skander that he was not interested in training as he had to look after his aged parents but the guide overruled him and asked him to keep on moving. Since he was armed he had no alternative but to continue the journey through difficult terrain and high mountains. He said when they reached near the border and saw Indian army he again refused to go to POK. The guide changed the route and reached Shabjian where the army captured them in the field, bringing an end to their unpleasant journey.

Mohammad Hussain told newsmen that if ever he would get a chance to go back to his home, he would ask other youth of his village not to listen to the 'Mujahids' nor get tempted by the tall promises of money as small amount earned by hard work in much better than to risk everybody's life by going to POK and indulge in subversive activities.

The 18-year-old Khursheed Ahmed Wani of village Sanger-

wani has also a similar story to tell. He told that like other people, he too was afraid of terrorists and fearing that he probably had committed some mistake and 'Mujahids' had summoned him. he came along Skander. He said he also protested against going to Pakistan and prayed to the guide to take him back to his home. He said, he became more scare when the guide killed Manzoor who did not want to move on due to hunger and frost bite.

Khursheed still remembers his two younger sisters who must be missing him. He said 'Mujahids' have created an atmosphere of fear and scare and most of the youths are succumbing to their dictates without knowing the real purpose of the action they were forced to go. He said if ever he was set free, he would see that no youth of his village is cheated like him.

Mohammad Maqbool Wani. a 21-year-old Carpet weaver of Sangerwani village was lured to go to POK on the promise of giving money for undergoing arms training. Now after having experience of the illtreatment metted out to him by the guide and ultimate fate of such an effort, Maqbool said "Inshalla if he gets a chance he will see that no other youth is trapped like him in future and no one goes to Pakistan which is exploiting us"

Fourteen-year-old Abdul Majid Sajjad of Charar-i-Sharief also feels that nobody should go to Pakistan as Hindustan is much better. 'Mujahids' are mad and nobody should believe them. Asked why he joined the group, the middle class student said that Skander had told him that a lot of money will be given on completing the training. Abdul Majid now feels that 'Mujahids' are ruining Kashmir by sending innocent youth to Pakistan and most of them have either been killed on the way or while crossing the border.

—KASHMIR TIMES 29.10.1991

IS KASHMIR AT WAR WITH INDIA ?

All that has been happening in Kashmir for the last several years, and now more openly as an insurgency movement during the past couple of years makes one think if Kashmir is at War with India (at the instance of Pakistan no doubt). Inderjeet Bhadwar feels that it is, when he writes the following report for India Today:

It is a declared war with open moral, financial, and logistical support from Pakistan.

Its first phase is over. And the brutal reality to which the country must awake is that the initial round has already been won by the militants. The enormity of the situtation-with the latent challenges it poses for the continued existence of the rest of India as a secular state-does not seem to have dawned fully on New Delhi or even on the rest of the nation. And notwithstanding the predictable knee-jerk cries of repression and "reign of terror" against the state administration by liberal groups like the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), the stark truth is that the Indian state is barely fighting back.

The reins of the reign of terror are squarely in the the hands of the separatists. Through kidnappings, bombings, assassinations, religious blandishments and press censorship-aided not least of all by the virtual abdication of governance by the Farooq Abdullah Government during the last two years-the secessionists have virtually achieved the administrative and psychological severance of the Valley from India. And their tentacles are now spreading into Doda, Kishtwar, Rajouri and Poonch.

In a cartographic and military sense, Kashmir remains with India. There's Ladakh in the north. Jammu in the south. And the Indian Army all along the actual line of control. But within the circumference now lies an island, a virulently non-Indian entity

called Kashmir easily vulnerable to Pakistani manipulation. In Kashmir nobody, either out of fear or out of the total alienation that pervades the region, now talks for India or even a settlement with the Centre. That part is over. Done with. The movement has now arrived at a different crossroads. The debate is now whether they choose independence or Pakistan.

The 'Indian dogs', as it were, have mostly gone home. From Srinagar, Baramula, Tral, Pulwama, Anantnag, Kupwara, Handwara, Bandipore; businessmen, bankers, retired services men, hoteliers, tour operators, and Kashmiri Pandits. Those who remain are men in unifrom, or the Indian officials sitting as soft targets for terrorist hit lists in Srinagar's Raj Bhawan, or the mini winter secretariat. Lonely outposts of the Indian Union.

In what is surely one of the greatest refugee migrations in recent Indian history, some 90,000 Kashmiri Pundits and other members of the minority community of a total of about 1,40,000 (4 per cent of the population) living in the Valley have fled their homes leaving property worth crores behind. Rows of large houses in Munshibagh and Rawalpura are deserted. And now, the 30,000-odd Sikh shopkeepers and farmers of Tral, Sopore and Baramula have begun to cry for protection if they, too, are not to migrate. Some have already started moving out.

The few local papers that circulate under terrorist benevolence regularly attribute the migration to exaggerated Indian propaganda. The educated elite-yesterday's moderates, today's separatists-tell the eager ideologues of the PUCL just what they want to hear: that their movement is secular and the fleeing Hindus are just puppet of BJP propaganda. But to a family taking flight from its roots, property, value system and the familiarity of everyday existence, this is just so much nonsense.

Ask Mrs Dar, a doctor whose family has lived in downtown

Srinagar for generations. She fled under fundamentalist threats a month ago to Jammu with her family. She and her sisters returned last fortnight-the men were too scared to accompany them-disguised under *burkhas* and fell at the feet of a government official begging help to recover their belongings from the houses they hurriedly padlocked before fleeing.

Or a retired subedar major whose tenant, K. Kaul, is mercilessly gunned down on April 5 in Karan Nagar. The subedar receives a death threat shortly afterwards while he is at work. He does not even go back to his house. His daughters rent a truck within a few hours and load it with their belongings. They pick him up at an appointed place and drive straight to a refugee camp in Jammu.

That same day Subedar Bhushan Lal bursts into the room of a commanding officer inside the cantonment in Srinagar, breaks down and cries like a baby. He was on leave to see his family in Bij Behara, a 45 minute drive from Srinagar, but has been hounded out by gangs of roving militants. He, too, begs for protection for his mother and two daughters whom he left beind in Bij Behara when he fled in the early hours of the morning. All he wants is that they be safely escorted out. They will never go back. It doesn't matter that he is leaving behind his life savings-a small orchard and a house he had managed to build.

They are not fleeing for nothing. Kashmir has seen upheavals in 1953 and in 1964. There was no mass migration. This was largely because the separatist forces had identifiable leaders who espoused secularism and there were few, if any, terrorist assassinations of innocents. But today, the movement is dominated by the money provided by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and the muscle power of the pro-Pakistan, fundamentalist Jamaat-i-Islami and its Hizbul Mujahideen and Allah Tiger terror groups. The Jamaat is supposed to be strong in Baramula and Sopore and the "secular" Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front in Srinagar and Anantnag. But this is now merely semantics.

For what once used to be a mass movement for the preservation of ethnic identity, of *Kashmiriyat,* of which Article 370 was supposed to be the symbolic guardian, has been consumed by a fundamentalist fury that gives the movement sustenance and spiritual guidance. The liberal spirit of sufism that had so infused the Valley has now been exorcised.

The movement is now largely conducted from the mosques from where thousands of loudspeakers preach *jehad* in a terrifying cacophony. And the fundamentalist cultural aggression has spread into everyday life. People must sport beards and wear the traditional Kashmiri garb. Wristwatches, as in Pakistan, must be worn on the right hand and the time set back a half-hour to correspond with that of Pakistan. Cinema halls, beauty and video parlours, symbols of Indian "decadence" have remained closed for six months. Friday, not sunday, is now observed as the day of rest. Indian newspapers are not circulated any more. In Kupwara, street dogs were affixed with discs around their necks with the inscription, "Indian dogs," and in Khak, nearby,



TERRORISTS

effigies of Indian soldiers are hung from trees. In nearby Sopore, militants impose their own road tax on civilian vehicles.

Almost everywhere in the Valley, Indian institutions have been rendered redundant. In Srinagar, the Bank of Baroda has closed down, many of its officers have fled. The Canara Bank has virtually no staff to handle payments. And the militants have even knocked down the signboard of the State Bank of India near Srinagar's Batwara Chowk. The banking system is virtually shut down. At the post offices tens of thousands of letters are piled up with no one to deliver them. Lawyers have boycotted the courts. And Muslim government servants now in the winter capital of Jammu have threatened to strike unless moved back to Srinagar. Conversely, minority community officials are balking at having to go to Srinagar when the capital shifts there in summer.

Agriculture continues, with paddy cultivation in full swing, but trade and commerce are at a standstill. The transport, sheetmetal machine tools and lumber industries have ceased to function. The hotels lie empty. The once proud Oberoi Place has lost half its executive staff. And mercury Travels Manager, Raj Awasthi, for the first time closed shop and left Srinagar, bags, baggage and all signalling the end of the tourist season even before it started. The house boats and shikaras bob aimlessly on the waters of the Dal and Nagin lakes like so much driftwood.

Life is one curfew after another with periods of relaxation. When it is relaxed people mill furtively in the streets for a little bit of shopping. Cigarettes are scarce, meat rarely available, fresh vegetables a treat if one can find them. Even though the people have begun to feel the pinch, there's still enough to eat. Every September, the Kashmiri begins stocking up on rice and dried tomatoes and other provisions. These will last until May when there are fresh earnings through tourism, carpet weaving

and casual labour. But even though this prospect looks bleak the people take heart from regularly beamed Pakistani propaganda that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, who was recently shown supporting a thousand-year struggle to "liberate" Kashmir, will raise crores of rupees in relief money. During curfew relaxation, life appears superficially normal. But life is not normal even in the sanctuary of the army cantonment. Army schools have been closed down and parents given transfer certificates for their chidren. And the corps commander has



Militancy beckons the Kashmiri Youth.



Making Bombs

declared downtown areas out of bounds for army personnel and their families.

It is during curfew relaxation that the gunmen strike. The strategy is simple. Fire, or hurl bombs at security personnel, assassinate a soft target and duck. Force the security forces to return the fire in which innocent civilians are often killed, fuelling further anti-Indian sentiments.

According to government estimates, anywhere between 2,000 and 5,000 automatic weapons, mostly Chinese-made AK-47s, have been smuggled into the Valley. The number of trained insurgents is about 600. But with a network of sympathisers now spreading into virtually every village in the Valley with sophisticated information cells, they spell a formidable problem for the roughly 20,000 men of the paramilitary and police forces deployed mostly in large towns.

Among the biggest challenges for the security forces is that the activists, both armed and unarmed, include PWD workers, irrigation engineers, schoolteachers, storeowners, doctors, lawyers, former MLAs and, most important, members of the Jammu & Kashmir Police who have been active in recruiting terrorists, arranging border crossings, and even driving their vehicles.

Sparatist targets are not just anybody found sympathetic to India but, increasingly, Indian Army installations. The subversive arsenal now includes antitank mines, rocket launchers and remote detonation devices. In serveral places army communication channels have been sabotaged. Civilian personnel working at army installations in Kupwara have received death threats.

How did the situation take such a precipitous turn for the worse ? The answer is, it was not sudden. As the offical record has shown, Governor Jagmohan was near prophetic in his warnings to Rajiv Gandhi during 1988-89 that the Farooq Abdullah Government had collapsed even while it was in power and that separatist militancy, no matter what its immediate roots, was exploding. The warnings were ignored.

It is possible to pinpoint some events that helped fuel the insurgency. First, at a time when militancy was peaking, Farooq's Government released 70 of the most experienced, Pakistani-trained terrorists whose detention had been confirmed by the Advisory Board headed by the Chief Justice of the state high court. Even though they were on parole, they are now untraceable.

The separatists saw this as an important victory. Their morale got a major boost when the V.P. Singh Government agreed to free 5 hardcore detenus in exchange for the release of Dr Rubaiya Sayeed. The files show that the decision to release the terrorists was taken by the Farooq Government not after negotiations with the terrorists but on the very day of her kidnapping.

Softliners in the Government had hoped that this would bring some of the extremists to the bargaining table. But the action achieved just the opposite. It swung the power pendulum away from the Government and squarely into the separatist camp. So far as the separatists were concerned they had won the first phase of their battle against India. There was nothing to negotiate. And they escalated their terror.

The crisis flared out of hand with the appointment of Jagmohan, not because the Governor was unwillng to act, but because New Delhi seemed to have no clear direction in its Kashmir policy and tied the new administration's hands following the January 21 clashes in which securitymen killed violent pro-Pakistani demonstrators. The Government has appeared to falter, and that has given heart to the terrorists.

From the secessionists' viewpoint, the insurgency has the Indian Government exactly where it wants it - divided in dealing with the problem. There are now three centres of power dealing with Kashmir— Home Minister Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, a man with very little credibility in his home state, who veers between a hardline law-and-order approach and reviving the Assembly as a stopgap measure; Kashmir Affairs Minister George Fernandes-a novice as far as the intricacies of Kashmir politics are concerned-who believes that be Centre should deal

with the militants as well as with some National Conference leaders; and Governor Jagmohan who is asking for a free hand to restore the state's administrative apparatus. The Mufti and Fernandes do not get along, and Fernandes goes about openly snubbing Jagmohan.

When he visits the Valley, ostensibly to contact the underground, Raj Bhawan is informed neither of his movements nor of whom he talks to. And some of his actions have effectively served to reverse the tough decisions taken by the Jagmohan administration. For example, on April 2, after the state administration opposed a mass rally for the burial of Ashfaq Majid, a slain terrorist, Fernandes negotiated with a team of self-proclaimed representative of the extremists and allowed a procession that swelled into a crowd of three lakh at which several of the most wanted militants were given a pulpit. Fernandes also met controversial government officials-like the jail superintendent sacked by the Governor.

The Centre sees this as a carrot-and-stick policy of keeping all channels open. But it is creating an impossible situtation for the state administrators who believe that when lobbyists can bypass the system and seek audiences with Fernandes or appeal to the Mufti who has his own political interests in the state, it will be hard to crack down on corrupt officals and collaborators.

Even finding a quick political fix in today's situation is a pipe dream. The National Conference, whose members have defected in droves is a spent force. Its MPs dare not enter the Valley without massive security escort. And the grave of its founding father, Sheikh abdullah, is guarded round the clock by two security companies because the militants have threatened to defile it. Even Maulvi Farooq lives in a fortress which he insists should be guarded by not state police but Central security forces.

Militants openly issue calls to boycoot Fernandes when he comes to the Valley. And those with whom he had attempted contact-lawyer Mian Qayyoom, Imam Gul Baxi of Batamaloo,

G.N. Hagroo, a civil rights activist, and journalist Sanaullah Bhut-are hardly pro-Indian. Qayyoom says Kashmir cannot be held captive to the Simla agreement; his demand is nothing short of independence. And it is unclear whom these people represent.

The bottom line of the militnats is secession. And the bottom line of the Indian Government cannot go outside he Constitution. The two positions are irreconcilable. The time for theorising, post-mortems and historical regurgitations is over.



Arms recovered by BSF from terrorists in Kashmir.

New Delhi's writ in the Valley runs from Raj Bhawan through Gupkar Road to the nearby winter secretariat. Two hundred yards on each side is terrorist territory. Consider, for example, just one fact. When the administration wanted to relax curfew from 6 p.m. the militants imposed their own curfew. Not a soul came out into the streets.

The bulk of the people follow whatever institution wields the big stick. Today, that stick is in the hands of the militants. The primary task before the Government is to re-establish its writ and show that it has the political will to do so, to demonstrate that the country will not compromise an inch of its territory. It was the absence of this message during the Farooq regime, and a lack of clarity of purpose under V.P. Singh's Government that has hobbled the state administration and given a certain strategic advantage to the secessionists.

Confusion and delay in regaining India's lost administrative turf in Kashmir will simply give Pakistan and the militants the most precious resources they can ask for-time. Their strategy is to wear New Delhi down to such an extent that the cost of maintaining Kashmir will become an imposible burden; or to keep ready-made Pakistan inside India to be used by Pakistan to create constant problems.

The view from New Delhi is that in the long run, time is on its own side because in the peaks and valleys that characterise terrorism all over the world, the fundamentalists, when they realise that they can't really break loose of India's grip, when they begin suffering economically, will wear down and seek a solution with the Centre. But this is precisely the kind of thinking that led to escalating violence in Punjab.

In Kashmir the wait-and-wear-down attitude, considering how perilous the situation already is beause of years of fence-sitting, is bound to make the problem even more intractable. The longer, for example, that security forces wait for orders to hit known training centres inside the Valley's villages-so far more or less out of bounds-the more powerful will terrorist cadres become. They will have more time to import more deadly weapons (they now have Stinger missiles as well), increase their finances, recruit cadres, mobilise international opinion, and increase their base and morale.

The longer the wait, the greater the forces and firepower of the secessionists, the more deadly and bloody any future confrontation. This would not only cause unpredicatable international repercussions but also dangerously affect the mood of India's 98 million Muslims-as Operation Bluestar did in the case of Sikhs in India-who so far have remained unsympathetic to the fundamentalist cause in Kashmir.

Right now, much can be achieved through low-level, sustained pressure. Last week, the Governor began by sacking 75 government servants involved in subversive activities, mounting weapons searches, raids on training camps, indefinite curfews, and arresting over 200 people trying to cross the border. He also refused to compromise with the kidnappers of the vice-chancellor of Kashmir University.

For the time being, it seems, New Delhi is backing stern measures to stop the drift. But the task ahead is Herculean. Lost ground will have to be recovered inch by inch even in the face of hostile international opinion, and pressure form internal political lobies. Government offices, banks, transport, hotels,



Terrorists in Srinagar: anti India campain

post offices will have to be opened, forcibly if necessary, even if it means handing them to security forces or government officials from outside as in Assam in 1983."

And New Delhi must also realise that indirectly its coffers are funding the separatist movement, through the subsidised petrol and the telephone networks with which the subversives communicate. The question to be asked is whether the state should continue to provide those who have declared war against



it the wherewithal for mobility and communications. Should it continue to keep on its payroll government servants who refuse allegiance to the constitution ? Should it continue to supply electricity to mosques that use loudspeakers to preach *jehad* against the state ? These are the hard decisions to be made if India's writ is to run again in the Valley.

In Kashmir-where the Centre has invested some Rs 70,000 crore in subsidies, what to say of the blood of Indian soldiers in two wars—the nation faces what is perhaps the gravest challenge to the ideas on which its integrity is moored. There are no soft options left. And temprorary reverses must not be allowed to reverse the process of a sustained reclamation. The country can no longer afford to behave like a tenant put on notice to vacate somebody else's property.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR
In Srinagar, INDIA TODAY, APRIL 30, 1990.





ABVP March & Seminar

DEEP ROOTED CONSPIRACY

—DAILY EXCELSIOR, JAMMU, MAY 19, 1990.

Arrest of Dr. Rafiq Ahemed Veda from SMHS hospital in Srinagar for involvement in terrorist activities is a reminder to all distractors that the state government is determined to book all subversives and their harbourers howsoever well placed. Resorting to strike by the employees of the hospital including doctors and para-medical staff in protest against his arrest is not going to help either the strikers or the arrested person. As per reports, some more senior members of the faculty are going to be nabbed soon for their anti-national activities based on terrorism and theocracy. There is no question of giving such highly educated persons any special treatment as far as insurgency is concerned. The law of the country can not discriminate one militant against another on grounds of status and social standing. As the arrest is based on thorough investigation and revelations made by the detained terrorists, the strike is ill advised and counter productive. Such threats and terror tactics cannot browbeat the state administration for apprehending and destroying all forces of disruption and mayhem. This message has been conveyed to all those who still nourish sympathies for the insurgents or contemplate extending their continued patronage to the militants. Govt service rules as also law on terrorism is very clear on the subject. Arrest of National Conference leader Mr Ayub Shabnam in Surankot indicates the deep rooted conspiracy of the forces of destablisation that had engulfed every sphere of life. Mr Shabnam has been a prominent NC leader as also gang leader of the subversives in Poonch area. The tasks handled by him included recruitment of unsuspecting youths for

training in Pakistan and their subsequent transportation to the Valley for carrying out subversive activities for which he was paid lakhs of rupees by the banned JKLF. He also happens to be the journalist publishing newsmagazine 'Sitaron-se-Aage'. That he enjoyed political clout as he belonged to the cadres of the then ruling party as also journalistic influence and connections, he operated with virtual immunity and without any fear of the law enforcing agencies. It is simply inconceivable that those in power were ignorant of his activities. Add to it the leading advocate who is since absconding and his property attached for effecting his arrest for involvement in the on-going insurgency in the state. Then we have reliable reports of the connivance of at least three cabinet ministers of Dr Farooq Abdullah government who are known to have been extending their wholehearted patronage to militant outfits. As more and more revelations are made by the arrested subversives, the noose is gradually narrowing to hook all those accused of helping the terrorists. Before long, these public men who have sworn by the constitution umpteen times and filled up their coffers with illgotten wealth will pay dearly for their heinous crimes against the state and the country as a whole. Since the entire insurgency has been initiated and sustained by Pakistan, involvement of ministers and other highly placed bureaucrats amounts to treason and punishable as such. This goes to prove the extent of rot that was deliberately allowed to gain strength by the powers that be with the specific and avowed objective of causing disintegration of the country by creating all round terror and communal riots. It was the question of effecting arrests and simultaneously facilitating the release of the subversives on some pretext or the other. Even a petty inspector dared release

no less than 12 terrorists who were lodged in his custody by the BSF. The jailors planned the escape of so many hard core militants. The outgoing government released unconditionally or on parole hundreds of detained ultras on the eve of quitting office. Such being the widespread tentacles of the insurgency, the harsh options exercised by the Governor's administration are not only justified but amout to rendering yeoman service to the state and the country in its hour of acute crisis. The deep-rooted conspiracy could not have been tackled with carrots. Still it goes to the credit of the authorities that in raiding the citadels of insurgent movements very negligible casualities have been caused. While there are many more militants at large and fresh influx of trained ultras with the melting of snow is possible, the determination of the administration in facing the emerging situtation is stronger as the results of the ongoing action have been very substantial and encouraging. The deep rooted conspiracy for disintegration of the country has been successfully foiled by adept planning and substained efforts of Governor Jagmohan and his capable team of advisors.

MONEY AND MILITANCY

—— THE KASHMIR TIMES, MAY 19, 1990

"If the search conducted in the house of Congress leader and former minister Molvi Iftikhar Hussain Ansari in Srinagar and the arrest later of the son of a more senior political leader Mr. Ghulam Rasool Kar attracted widespread attention, the detention of Surankote National Conference leader Mr. Ayub Shabnam is bound to give rise to more speculations on the involvement of political activists in the ongoing separatist militancy in Kashmir. Mr. Ansari was, indeed, quick to protest against "harassment" by security personnel and Mr. Kar did not lose a moment in saying that he had disowned his son from his since divorced wife. It remains to be seen what will be the reaction of Mr. Shabnam during and after his interrogation. He faces more grave charges of sponsoring youth from the border districts of Poonch and Rajouri for training in armed subversion across the border in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and cornering huge sums of money placed at his disposal for the purpose. The details will become available only after detailed investigation but reports available at present suggest that the Surankote National Conference leader sponsored as many as 72 youth for training in camps across the border. It is also alleged that he duped the gullible youth by paying far less than the amounts promised to them. It is for the authorities concerned to ascertain details, but it appears that big money is involved in Pakistan patronised armed subversion in the militancy torn Kashmir Valley. The law and order authorities can utilise this opportunity for finding out the sources of money and the channels through which they are routed for motivating and recruiting youth for

training in armed subversion. It would be easy to jump to the conclusion that huge sums of money are made available from across the border where the government of Pakistan as well as POK have vied with each other in recent weeks in announcing huge grants for Kashmir militants. But the possibility of a substantial amounts of money being supplied from within the Valley or without directions from across the border cannot be ruled out. This possibility emerges also from the fact of the security personnel having arrested some prominent businessmen in some parts of the Valley. Another important issue that needs to be looked into is the extent of commercialisation of the militancy by people directly and indirectly involved in it. This becomes highly relevant in the context of the charge that Mr. Shabnam paid a few hundred rupees against the earmarked amount of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 to each of his recruits. This suggests that a large amount of money, whoever made it available, has been "swindled" or kept in some safe custody for carrying on the subversive mission as and when it becomes possible to do so all over again. Considering that thousands of youth from the Valley and some other parts of the state have been sent across to camps in POK, it becomes possible that many more people have been engaged in the highly lucrative venture of motivating youth for training in armed subversion. Depending on the outcome of investigation into charges levelled against the Surankote National Conference activist, it may be possible for the authorities concerned to ascertain the extent of the commercialistion of militancy in Kashmir.



Mr Mohammad Shafi sitting outside Gate No 1 of Parliment House on Tuesday to protest against "use of brute force" in Kashmir.

—Did he have a single word of sympathy for the victims of terrorism, religious fundamentalism or the "refugees" in his own land. Can he condemn terrorists' brutalities and atrocities while sitting in the Parliament of secular India ?

UNPARALLELED EXODUS

Hindus—the main target and direct victims of terrorism and threats from the religious fundamentalists, started moving out of Kashmir and seek refuge in Jammu and other places in India in 1989. They started living as "refugees" in their own land and experienced a new phase of life. They started living as refugees in tents-- a "jungi, jopri" life--or even staying in big halls with several, hitherto, unknown families together. It is a new experience for a well off, educated community which they are still experiencing and undergoing. The community which offered and had ample to distribute were turned into relief seekers to live on doles-- what a tragedy? The talented are loitering about without jobs or any fruitful engamenets and wasting their precious time in idle gossip with out any work. What a national loss. Can any one think about it. ? It is perhaps an unparalleled event in the history of the world when almost the entire population of a religious minority community has been forced to leave its place of birth and origin because of the threats held out to it by religious zealots, fundamentalists and terrorists at the point of gun.

Commenting on the unparalleled exodus of Hindus from Kashmir, Pankaj Pachauri describes it as 'An Alarming Exodus' and writes: (Some Extracts):—

AN ALARMING EXODUS

Kashmiri Hindus flee the Valley

In 1947, when Pakistani raiders pillaged the homes of Kashmiri Hindus, Sohan Lal was a seven-year-old child in the border district of Kupwara. He lost his father and eight relatives before fleeing to Srinagar. He returned home after two yers. The neighbourhood mason, carpenter and shopkeeper-all Muslims-helped him start afresh. He became a teacher in the local school and lived with his family in a house which, over the years, expanded to 15 rooms.

Last fortnight, Sohan Lal fled Kupawara again. There was no raid on his house. No killings. Not even a threat. But when after Shivratri, his relatives from Anantnag and Srinagar did not visit him as they had done every year, Sohan Lal panicked. He locked up his house, gave the keys and his cattle to a Muslim friend and departed with nine other families for a relief camp in Jammu. Says Sohan Lal: "There was no communal tension. It took us six days to leave everything because of fear. And we cried-my family and that of my Muslim friend.

On his third day in Jammu, Sohan Lal was exposed to an alien phenomenon. He was part of a 10,000 strong procession led by VHP acting President, Vishnu Hari Dalmia.............

But Sohan Lal was just one among over 10,000 Hindu families which have left the Valley... And should they fall into the net of communal propaganda, they can reverse the political efforts for normalising the Kashmir cirsis. Says Home Minister



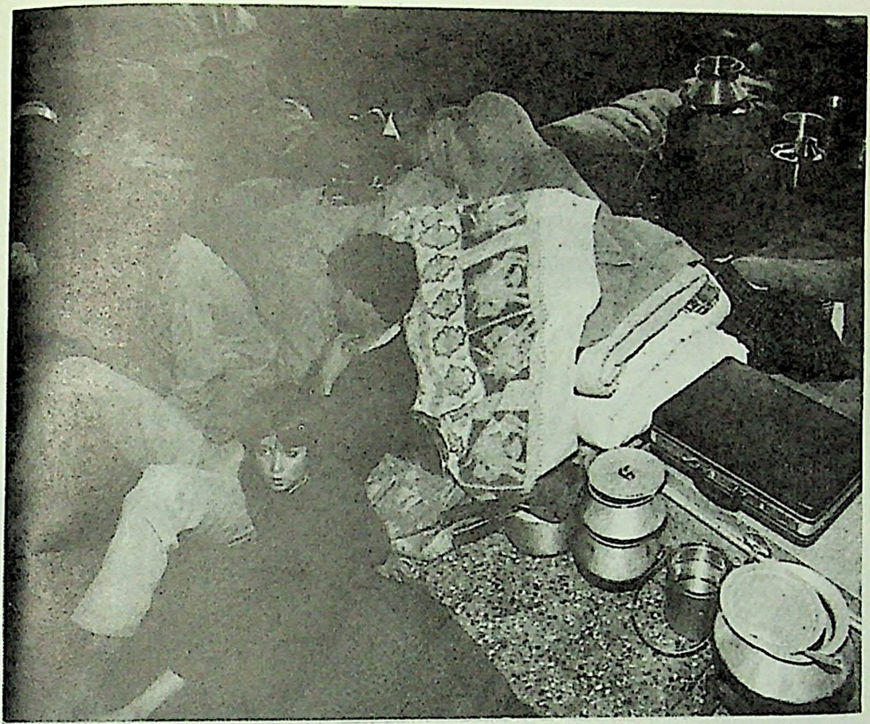
DISPLACED HINDUS' CAMPS

Mufti Mohammad Sayeed: "We can't afford more complications." Adds an IAS officer in Jammu: "Our hands are full with the migrants. The last thing we want is a communal flare-up.

In fact, by the time the all party delegation reached Srinagar, about 40,000 people had reached Jammu, 2,500 Udhampur, 600 Kathua and about 2,000 Haridwar and Delhi. In each of the dozen filthy camps in Jammu and in the decrepit Kashmir Bhawan in Delhi, most refugees said that though they were initially reassured by Jagmohan's installation as Governor, the militancy was unstoppable. Said a doctor from Srinagar: "How can we raise slogans for Islamic rule or say Pakistan *zindabad ?"* Understandably, the militant's movement has isolated the Valley's 1.2 lakh Hindus.

The migrants' woes were doubled by the unpreparedness of the Jammu administration. The first trickle of refugees began in mid-January. They took shelter at Geeta Bhawan, a pilgrims' transit house. When the organisers of Geeta Bhawan heard about the refugees' plight, they announced in the press that all persons looking for safe sanctuary could come to them. This resulted in a flood of migration. Geeta Bhawan could not cope and the administration stepped in. Migrants were housed in government buildings and foodstuffs distributed., But with government housing also running out, the last batch of refugees was put up in a camp made up of 100 tents on the banks of the Tawi river in Nagrota, 12 km off Jammu. As most refugees belong to the middle class Pandit community they are appalled at being forced to stay in tents.

Their reasons for abandoning their comfortable homes are easy to pinpoint. Most of the senior government officials killed by the militants were Pandits, who have traditionally dominated the state's bureaucracy. Moreover, the movement in the Valley has acquired a religious tone with processionists singing verses



from the Quran and demanding an Islamic state. And when thousands of Kashmiris spilled on to the streets after Jagmohan allowed processions, the secession of Kashmir seemed inevitable to many Hindus..................

..............Jagmohan recently announced two new posts of relief commisioners and stated that camps would be set up in the Valley itself and that government employees and pensioners forced to flee their homes would receive their money regularly. But such attempts amounted to locking up the stable after the horse had bolted.

Many of the militants too are unhappy with the flight of Hindus. The Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), in particular, realises that an exodus on communal lines would eventually discredit their movement. In a written statement, four area commanders of JKLF recently offered to "retire" from the secessionist movement if it was proved by an independent

agency or media that they killed anyone only because he was from a particular community

An added twist to the problem is the hostility towards the migrants from some Jammu residents. Many Jammu Hindus harbour age-old prejudices against Kashmiri Pandits who they believe corner all crucial government jobs and are more affluent.



With the fate of the migrants intertwined with the solution to the Kashmir problem, their ordeal threatens to be a long one. And if their plight is given a communal colour, it would have a disastrous impact. For Hindu backlash will only strengthen the case of the Muslim fundamentalists in Kashmir.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI in Jammu with NISHA PURI, INDIA TODAY, MARCH 31, 1990.

PLIGHT OF MIGRANTS IN CAMPS









FROM THE OFFICIAL J & K RECORDS.... (BLITZ)

UNTOLD TERROR !

Srinagar : On March 4, 1990, two Muslim girls were kidnapped, raped and then killed. They belonged to Baramulla town.

On March 17, Mrs. M.N. Paul, wife of a BSF Inspector, was abducted from her residence in Takoora, Srinagar. She was tortured, gang-raped for several days and her defiled corpse, its limbs smashed, was found abandoned on an open road.

Two days later, a junior engineer B.K. Ganjoo working in the Posts & Telegraphs Dept. in Chottabazar, Srinagar, was killed inside a rice drum. The bloodsoaked rice was then forcibly fed to his wife and daughter.

On June 4, Girja Tikoo, wife of Girdhari Lal Tikoo, residing in Bandipur, was kidnapped and gang-raped for several days. Leter, her body was found shredded in a sawmill.

The same day another Muslim girl, Marooqa, was abducted, raped, tortured and finally put to death.

TORTURED BEFORE BEING KILLED

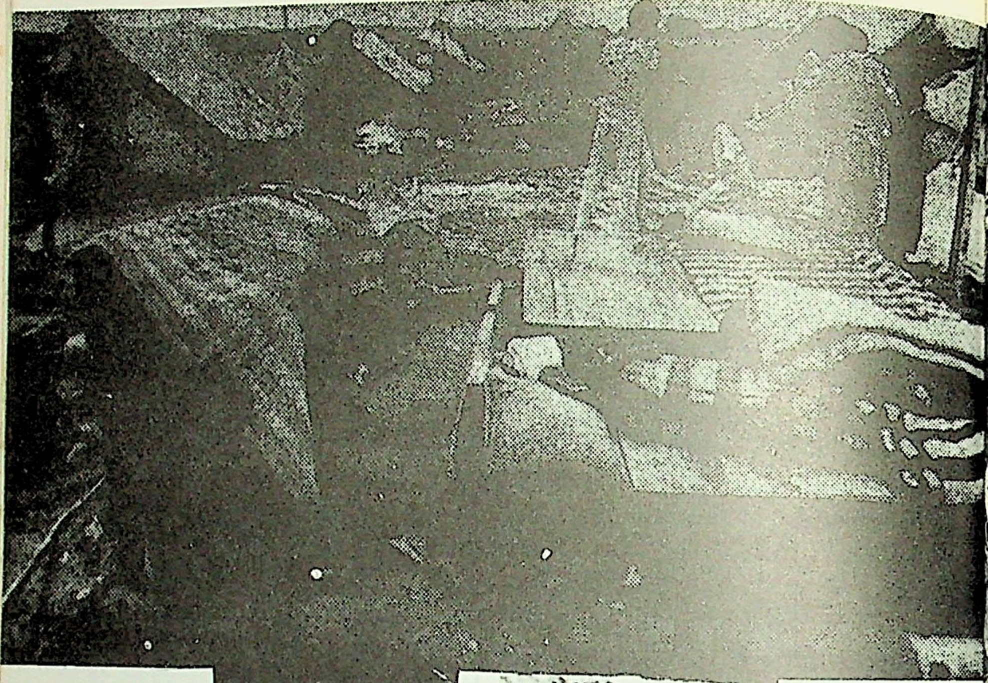
On Jan. 18, 1991 militants in Hakbara, Baramulla, intimidated the parents of a Muslim girl, Zarifa, to give her hand in marriage to one of their comrades. Being refused they abducted the girl and her brother, Basir Ahmed - he was tortured before being killed. The girl was taken away and married off.

On July 19, 1991 in Baramulla, a Sikh lady who had gone to attend the marriage of one of her relatives was shot dead by masked militants in the middle of the ceremony.

On Oct. 17, 1991, this outrage was repeated. The victim this time was a Musilm lady, Haja, who was shot dead by militants in the midst of marriage celebrations. This happened in Qamarwari.

On Aug. 8, 1991, in Karfolli Mohalla (Srinagar), a Hindu lady was kidnapped from her village of Achabal. She was gang-raped in a house deserted by Hindus and her decomposed corpse was later found abandoned there.

DISPLACED HINDUS' CAMPS





MUSLIM MIGRANTS



MUSLIM MIGRANTS



VICTIMS OF TERRORISM



DISPLACED HINDUS' CAMPS

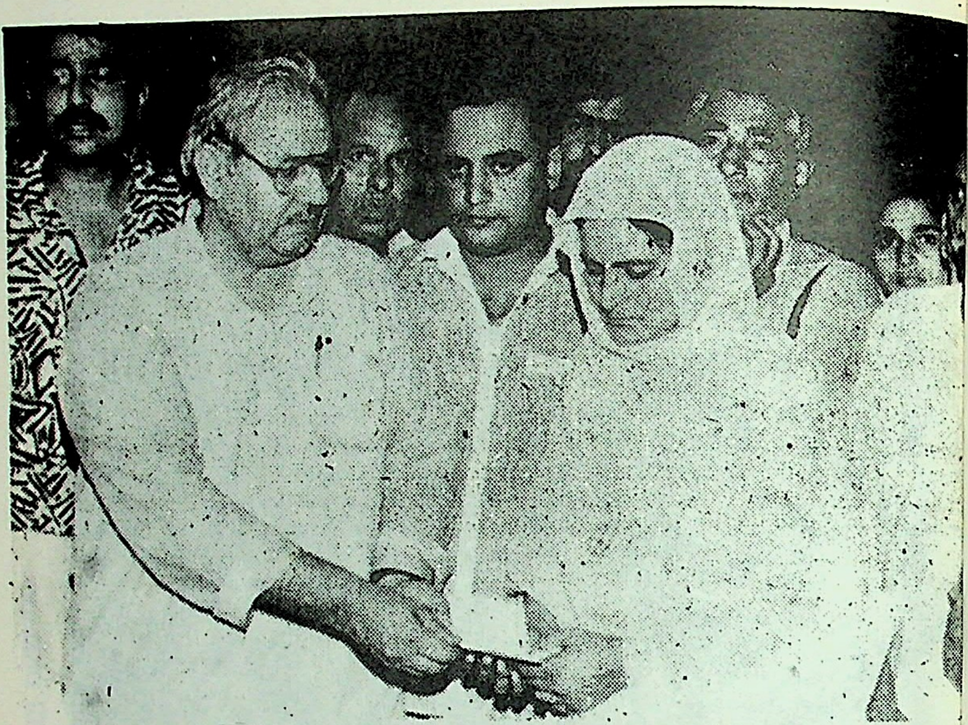


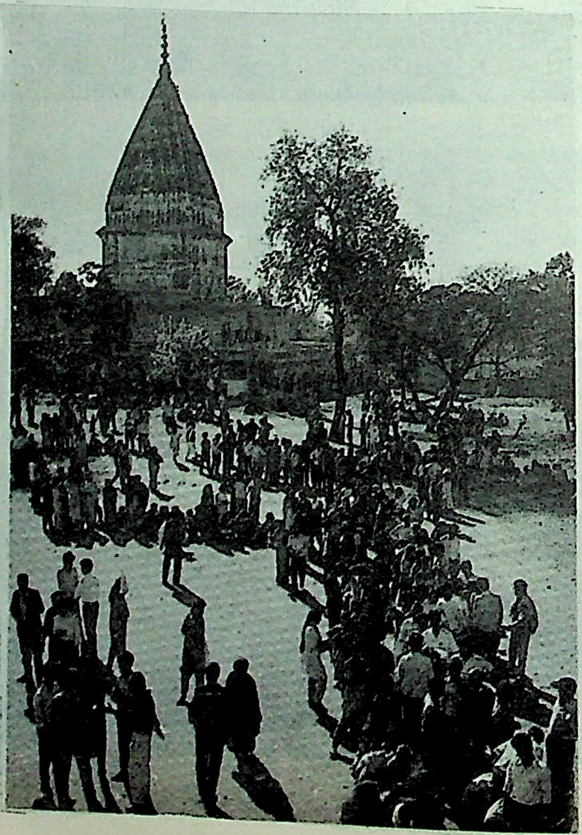
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GETTING RELIEF





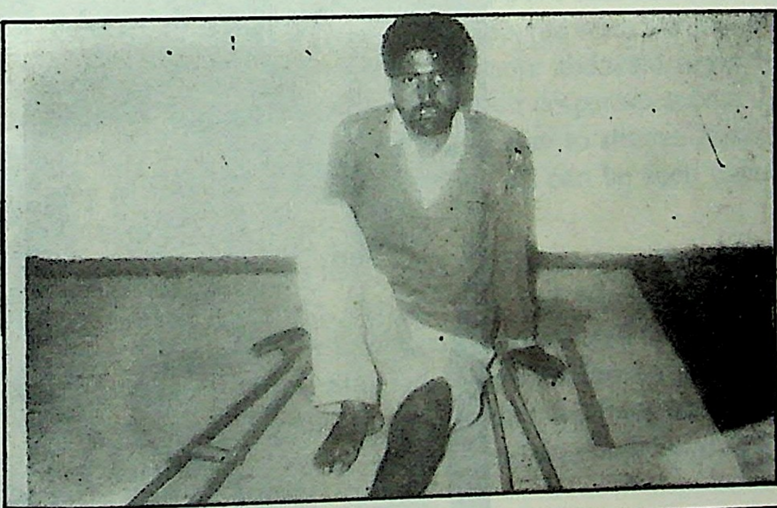


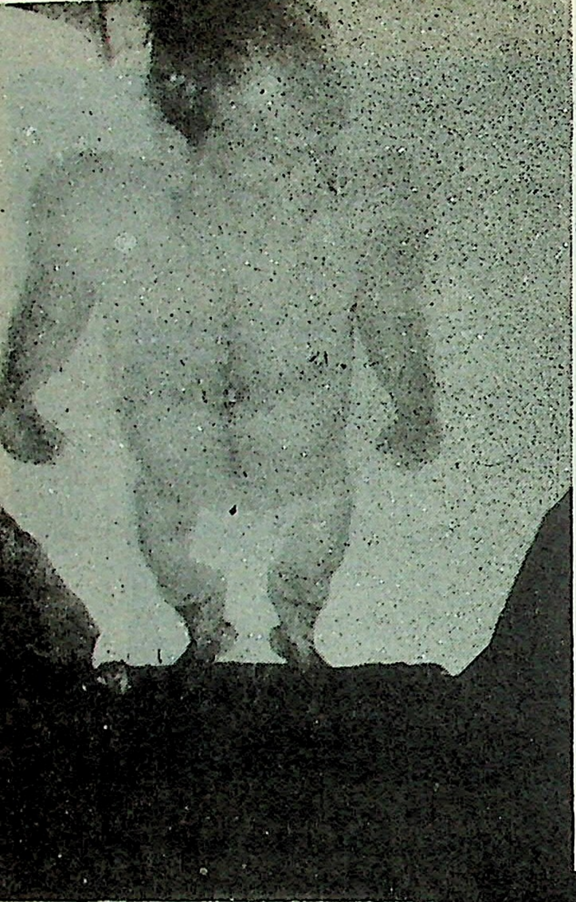
GETTING RELIEF

A GLIMPSE OF THE BRUTALITIES



Ramesh Kumar asking how can he say his own name now as his tongue has been cut by the Islamic fundamentalists for saying Bharat Mata Ki Jai.







DEPREDATIONS OF MILITANTS

These barbarities have been committed by people cloaking themselves in the garb of religious fundamentalism - an atrocity against the noble religion of Islam that denounces and condemns such acts. To call these people "Islamic militants" is to insult a great religion.

The term "Islamic terrorism" has, however, not only taken on a positively sinister hue but has become an inseparable part of present-day media vocabulary. Responsible for this have been the spate of killings carried out around the world with a bewildering variety of "Islamic terror groups" owning up to them.

Right within Kashmir, depredations of these so-called "Islamic terrorists" have reached horrendous proportions. But the bottom line is : Does this tyranncide qualify to be "Islamic Terrorism ?"

GIVE PROOF OF THEIR GUILT

From March 4, 1990 to Aug. 8, 1991 scores of instances have been recorded where ordinary people were slaughtered in the most sickening manner, many more abducted never to be found or if they were found it was their corpses desecrated in a manner which would put Attila the Hun to shame. Ironically many of the victims were Muslims, as can be seen from the reports mentioned earlier.

Prominent figures have been consistently on the militants' hitlist. Mushir-ul Haq, the 55 year old Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University in Srinagar, was murdered by militants of the Jammu & Kashmir Students Liberation Front along with his PA, between April 6 and April 11, 1990. His body bore a dozen bullet holes as did that of his PA who had also been shot in the back of his neck.

PROMINENT MODERATES

The 47-year-old director of the Doordarshan centre for Jammu and Kashmir, Lassa Kaul, was shot dead by JKLF gunmen, earlier that year on Feb. 13. The killing was part of a larger effort to compel authorities to switch to programmes which would show militants in a more "favourable" light.

Retired scholars and teachers did not escape these bloodcrazy elements. D.N. Muju, a retired litteraute, and saintly scholar was murdered on July 6, 1990, at dead of night. His wife, however, survived the attack. Pt. Sarvanand Premi and his son were cut into pieces.

Mujahideen murdered Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi (87). He was the former General Secretary of the National Conference and a prominent moderate politician in Kashmir since India achieved independence.

The Hizb-ul-Mujahideen then laid their hands on Mir Ghulam Mustafa (51), a former member of the dissolved Kashmir State Legislative Assembly. He was abducted and his body found a day and a half later, hanging from a tree in the Lakshmanpora area of Batmaloo, on the outskirts of Srinagar.

Earlier that year, on July 30, Umakant Mattu was murdered, who owned a shop at Panpur on the Srinagar-Jammu highway. The victim had been in the Indian army and had put up a shop after retirement.

This was the same militant group that had claimed responsibility for the Aug. 4, 1990 bomb explosion outside a temple on Lawrence Road in Delhi. The explosion killed five and seriously injured 17 others. Pir Mohammed Shafi, one of the former memebrs of the Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly, fell prey to members of the Al-Umar Mujahideen on Oct. 16, 1990. Shafi who was a close associate of Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq had been shot dead in his residence in Lal Bazar in Srinagar on Oct. 15. Earlier that year Farooq himself had been shot dead.

Pathetic appeals have been made in newspapers in Srinagar and the following is an excerpt from one of them; it appeared in ALSAFA, Sept. 3, 1991.

THE AGONY OF A MOTHER

"A month ago, the bullet-ridden body of my son Bilal Ahmed was sent to my house from the Control Room. Along with him were the bodies of Farooq Ahmed and Manzoor Ahmed of Batamaloo. Serious allegations had been levelled aginst them and it was said that they had been punished in accordance with the Islamic Shariat, according to the JKLF. What distresses me is that the proof of their sins has not so far been furnished as has generally been the case in respect to all those killed."

"If concrete proof is provided, I, as a mother, would apologise with folded hands to the Mujahideen. I myself had sent my son to train as a Mujahid. The Shariat is equally applicable to all, whether they may be Bilal Ahmed, Manzoor Ahmed, or Farooq Ahmed or even Islam's permanent enemies, the agents of Israel who had killed one Mujahid. It is not the murder of three youths, but of 3,33,000. As the JKLF has more political sagacity (than others) It is necessary for them to provided proof."

"In the name of the Prophet Muhammad, I request the Hiz-ul-Mujahideen, the Ikhwan-ul Musalmeen, the Al-Umar Mujahideen and other fundamentalist organisations to probe this issue, otherwise on the day of judgement this issue would be raised in the very presence of God." –BLITZ

EX-ARMYMAN IGNORED WARNING OF KASHMIR MILITANTS

Former army officer, Captain Raghunath Singh (Hony) fell victim to the bullets of the Kashmiri militants in Tral in Kashmiri Valley on July 11 last as he ignored the warning of some Musilim friends.

According to family sources the retired army officer came to the market for local purchases alongwith his family members despite warnings by some of his Muslim friends that militants were after his life.



Autar Krishan of Pulwama relating the torture inflicted on him by ripping open his abdomen.



Bhushan Lal (murdered on 16-5-1990). His eyes had been hollowed out by the self styled crusaders for so called Islamic righteousness.

MUEZZINS BECOME TARGETS OF MILITANTS

Hindustan Times 19.3.1990.

The axe of the terrorists and subversionists has now fallen on non Kashmiris including Muslim Muezzins.

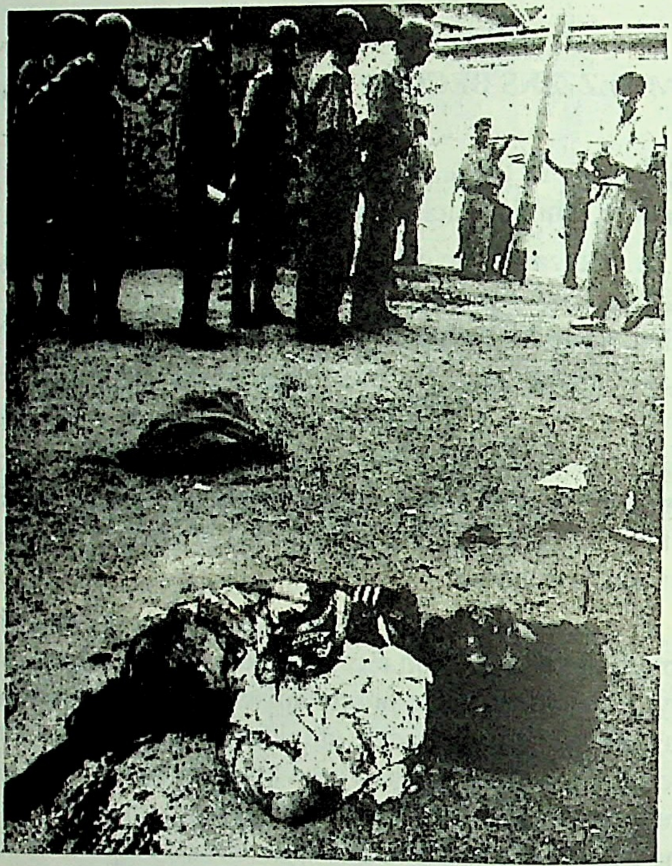
In a bizarre incident few days ago, the bodies of two muezzins were found on roadside in Pulwama district. They hailed from 24 Parganas district and were serving in a local mosque. They were branded intelligence men to justify the Murder.

Two days ago, the bodies of a young couple were recovered from a roadside near here. A note was recovered which said the victims had attracted the wrath of the offenders on account of their illicit relations.

The current phase of the secessionist movement which is about two years old had received the fundamentalist fervour in July last year when the obscurantists had succeeded in veiling Muslim womenfolk under intimidation of dire consequences. The Hindu womenfolk had been asked to bear "bindi" on their forehead to retain their identification. The administration at that time had preferred to remain indifferent. It bolstered the spirits of the secessionists' outfits which had given a call in this regard.

Soon after, the beauty parlours were asked to close down as make up was declared anti-Islamic. In the wake of apathy of the administration this call too received grand success. Next target was the cinemas. The Muslim women newsreaders, working for the local centre of the Doordarshan were also asked to cover their heads. They dutifully obeyed the instructions. Earlier, the restaurants had been asked by the subversionists to lower their shutters during the 'Ramzan' days.

Emboldened with the success which fundamentalists received in enforcing the 'Islamic way of life', the liquor shops and bars were asked to close down their establishments. Some



The torso of Tehseen Billa lying on roadside in Kadi Kadal, after his body was blown to pieces by grenades. Al-Umar Mujahideen claimed responsibility for the incident, alleging that he was a police informer responsible for the arrest of Deputy Chief of Al-Umar.

Meraj-Ud-Din

of them were looted or ransacked while the police and the administration remained mere spectators to the sordid developments.

With the imposition of the Governor's rule when the State administration started exercises to contain the cult of the gun to refurbish the sagging morale of the police, there was a respite from the activities of the terrorists and fundamentalists. But that proved a temporary phase as a procession of Muslim women under the baner of "Dukhtern-i-Millat" was organised on Feb

13. Few hundred veiled women took out a procession from Pratap Park. They were only protesting against curfew restrictions on Friday, the weekly day of prayers for Muslims for the last two months. They were also joined by few hundred youngmen who were waiting in wings for such opportunity. The processionists marched to the office of the United Nations Observer Group.

The administration remained unconcerned of the violation of the prohibitory order those were in vogue and gave the lame excuse that the processionists were peaceful. It is learnt that the Union Government was in favour of giving laxity. Since then the secessionists did not look behind. Within no time the fervour of the Kashmiris for "Independence" gained the highest pitch in its 40 year odd chequered history to maintain its separate identity. The development further acquired the tinge of fundamentalism that in turn scared the minority community and of course the "outsiders". Even teachers and students in educational institutions who hailed from other States were coerced and forced to leave the Valley. Even Muslim brethern were not spared.

In the second week of last month the roads in the capital city swarmed with surging crowds that swelled day by day. The enthusiasm and boisterousness of streams of people, women and children alike notwithstanding the vagaries of the nature knew no bounds.

On the other hand, the para military forces were withdrawn from the troubled city from Feb. 15. It strengthened the zeal of the processionists. The secessionists also started their campaign on fundamental lines from loudspeakers atop mosques in the night.

None among the 35 odd secessionist organisations and outfits wanted to lag behind in a virtual scramble to make its presence felt on the scene. No wonder a variety of flags of

different organisations fluttered in the processions. The shop-keepers, the auto rickshaw drivers, municipal employees, doctors etc. also took out processions to "express solidarity with the cause .

The secessionists received a shot in the arms on Feb. 23 when all roads appeared to lead to Charar-i-Sharief, where a huge congregation had been planned on the shrine of Sheikh Nooruddin Rishi, the highly reverend saint of the Valley. Thousands of people travelled in buses, trucks and other modes of transport braving steady drizzles on the way and snow at the shrine besides the biting cold that was lashing the Valley.

"Freedom is our birth right". "We will snatch victory" and *"Jabre nata tod do-Kashmir hamara Chhod do"*

(Leave Kashmir - Stop forcible occupation) rented the air as the people atop the vehicles shouted on way to the shrine.

The administration once again reverted to the exercise of asserting its authority on March 2. There was a lull which was broken when an all-party delegation visited Srinagar after few days. The people shouted from mosques and started blaring out anti-India provocative slogans in abusive language. The administration seems to have been caught in a situation of Catch 22 following regular confusing signals from the Centre in handling the Kashmir situation.

JKSLF THREATENS TO KILL DC'S SON

Four persons, including two army men, were killed and seven others, among them two women and two constables of the Jammu and Kashmir Armed Police (JKAP), injured in the Valley since last night as separatist violence continued unabated inspite of the extra ordinary powers given to security forces under the Disturbed Areas Act passed by the Governor on Thursday.

(However, according to agency reports, 17 persons were killed in the Kashmir Valley since last night).

(The outlawed Jammu and Kashmir Students Liberation Front has threatened to kill Mr Farooq Ahmed, the 23-year-old son of the deputy commissioner of Srinagar, Mr Ghulam Abbas, if two of its activists were not released by authorities).

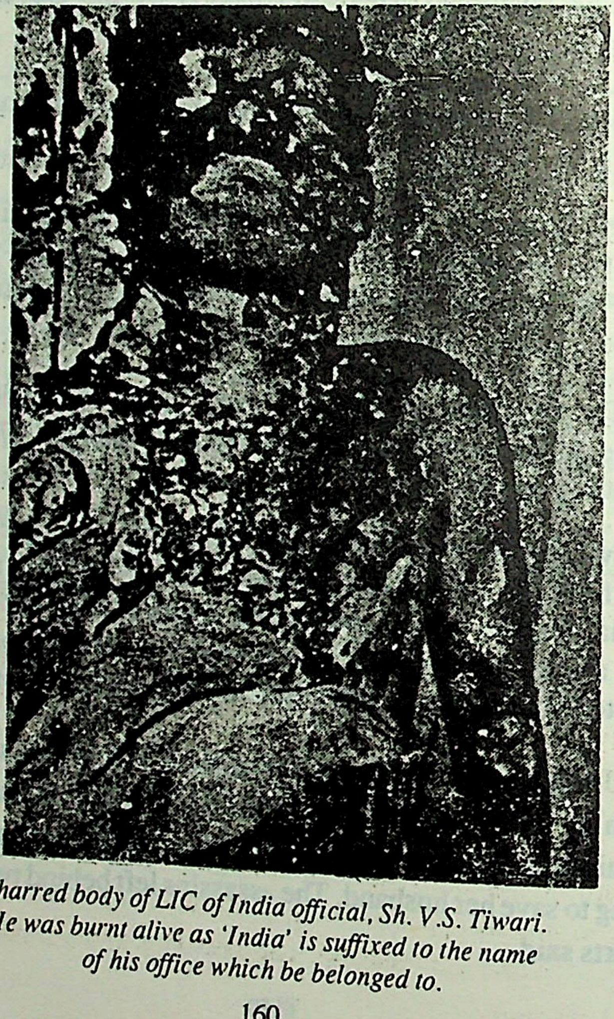
(The two militants whose release have been demanded are Khalid Ahmad and Mushtaq Ahmad, residents of Srinagar and Anantnag respectively.)

Two jawans were killed when militants hurled a grenade and then fired upon an army vehicle at Tangmarg this morning, official sources said. Details of the incident were not immediately available. However, reports said that security forces later arrested six suspected militants and also recovered some arms.

Unidentified Assailants: Dina Nath Mujoo was stabbed to death by unidentified assailants who broke into his house past midnight, official sources said, His wife was also injured, while trying to save her husband. The assassins left behind two knives, reports said.

An official spokesperson said this evening that seven militants were killed in an encounter with security forces near the line of actual control in Kashmir Valley yesterday, when they tried to sneak into this side after receiving arms training in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir.

—TIMES OF INDIA, JULY 8, 1990



Charred body of LIC of India official, Sh. V.S. Tiwari. He was burnt alive as 'India' is suffixed to the name of his office which be belonged to.

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES UNDER FIRE

On the much frequented tourist trail to Gulmarg lies the nondescript town of Bhirua. Among intelligence men in Kashmir, it is known to be a stronghold of the fundamentalist militant groups. That is why the work done by Krishan Gopal Chauhan, 37, a sub-inspector of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) was considered valuable.

He ran a one-man operation. His success had already been noticed by the militants. So the IB was planning to pull him out. But he insisted on staying on and moved, with his wife and two chidren, to the police premises. On january 9 his luck ran out.

His phone was dead and as he walked across to make a call he ignored the man in the *pheran* stalking him. At 11.30, in the bustling street, the man pulled out a Kalashnikov and shot him five times. The IB had lost its second field operator within a week.

Earlier, on January 2, R.N.P. Singh, assistant central intelligence officer at Anantnag, was shot as he walked back home at 6.30 in the evening, weighed down by a bag of wheat-flour.

A few hours after Chauhan's death, militants struck again, this time killing Inspector Hameedullah Butt of the state's counter-espionages cell in Srinagar's Rawalpora locality. Butt was the fourth state intelligence man killed by the militants. Alongside, the militants have killed several civilians accused of being informers.

The killings struck fear among the intelligence agencies whose men mostly function unarmed. Officers concede that at this rate the sources could soon dry up. Of its 32 offices in the Valley, the IB had decided to pull out its utterly unprotected operatives of 26. Shri R.P. Joshi, the new Director of the IB, flew in to study the situation.

But intelligence is a risky business even in normal times. "We are telling our people we have to operate in wars, even in foreign territory unarmed," said a senior officer, adding that they have to adapt to the new situation.

—INDIA TODAY, JAN. 31. 1990.

WIDESPREAD CONDEMNATION OF KHERA'S KILLING

JAMMU : APRIL 10, The cold blooded murder of Mr H.L. Khera. General Manager of HMT unit is Srinagar at the hands of terrorists, today evoked strong condemnation here.

The migrant HMT employees strongly condemned the heinous killing of Mr Khera and said that we all share this sorrow and grief. at the loss of our able and esteemed officer. They said the Mr Khera had been a source of inspiration for "all of us"

They asked the law and order authorities to apprehend the culprits at any cost and impart severest punishment to these anti-national and fundamentalist elements, so that the "sacrific made by a sacred industrial worker of this largest democracy of the world does not go waste".

Former Minister and senior Congress leader. Mr Mangat Ram Sharma has condemned the "dastardly act" of killing of Mr Khera by the terrorists. He said that Mr Khera's death was a several blow to all those who were doing their duty with devotion and dedication in the strife torn Valley. He urged the authorities that immediate and necessary steps should be taken by the authorities to secure the release of two others-Kashmir University Vice Chancellor, Prof. Mushir-ul-Haq and his private secretary, Mr Abdul Ghani.

Janata Dal leader Mr. R.S. Chib while condemning the killing of the HMT General Manager said that efforts should be stepped up for apprehending the culprits. Nation cannot be held at ransom by few gun wielding terrorists. Time has come when the gravity of the situation should be understood and responsive steps taken to crush terrorism and bring back normalcy in the Valley.

OFFICIAL SHOT DEAD IN SRINAGAR

Jammu. March 20 (PTI)

Another senior government official was gunned down in Srinagar today while curfew was relaxed for 12 hours throughout the Valley.

Mr. A.K. Raina, the Deputy Director of State, Food and Supplies Department, was fatally shot in his office at Shaheed Gunj around 11.30 a.m. today by three militans.

Mr Raina was declared dead by doctors on arrival at the hospital.

This is the first incident in which a government official was killed by militants within office premises.

Militants had killed Mr. P.N. Handoo, an Assistant Director of State Information Department, near his house on March Ist while the office was on his way to office.

In another incident, armed militants entered a house in a village near Qazigund in South Kashmir and opened fire, injuring three persons. They have been admitted to hospital.

An explosive device was hurled on a jeep at Lal Chowk but no one was reported hurt.

The Governor, Mr Jagmohan, condemned the killing of Mr Raina and announced an ex-gratia relief of Rs 1 lakh to his next of kin.

Speaking at a function after laying the foundation stone for a Yatri Niwas here, Mr Jagmohan reiterated his appeal to the people in Kashmir Valley to help the administration in bringing back "complete normalcy" in the Valley so that important development projects could be implemented there.



Another victim of fundamentalist brutalities Shri Tapoo, who was also burnt alive in a house after being abducted.

URDU PRESS IN KASHMIR

The Urdu Press in Kashmir is playing a leading role in projecting the activities of terrorists and maligning security forces to suit the interest of anti-national elements. No doubt some of them may be doing it at the point of gun, but it all results in only emboldening these terrorists out-fits and embarassment to the Government. Almost the whole front page (with continued next page' captions) is devoted to terrorists, news and interestingly the government advertisements are printed on about two pages. What an irony. Are these advertisements given to these newspapers to project views of militants. Why to finance such newspapers, if these newspapers cannot be asked to stop pro-terrorist and anti-security and anti-national news?

Freedom of press and expression does not mean licence to propagate terrorist views and play to the tune of anti-national elements.

A few extracts of some news papers from Kashmir show how liberty of press is misused.

"Taking up arms is not a compulsion but a religious obligation. Adopting an apologetic attitude on this issue is un-Islamic".

A Hizb Statement Srinagar, Times 9.1.91

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"We should do nothing to strengthen this idea of nationalism within Muslim Ummah. Being a Pathan, an Arab, a Punjabi, Kashmiri, a Shiah or a Suni should divide us no more. We are part and parcel of world Muslim Ummah. Non-Muslims, whether Hindus, Jews, Christians and others do not want Muslims to prosper.

Musthaq Ahmed's Letter in ALSAFA (Urdu) 13.1.91

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"Nobody will participate in 26th January celebrations- the black day".

A Statement of Gurella Front in Srinagar TImes 23.1.91

***

"Any step to bring migrated people from Kashmir back to the Valley will be a failure. Measures are being taken to settle them under security cover.

News Item, Alsafa (Urdu) 12.7.91

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"13th July is the day of honour for Islam. On this day struggle for ouster of Dogra Rule was launched"

Andrabi in ALSAFA 12.7.91

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"Al-Mujahideen has warned the militants from exploiting and misuring the present struggle by claining to work as Mujahideens.

News, Daily AFTAB (URDU)

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"A lady named Halima from Bandipora shot dead by militants near Iqbal Park, Srinagar. She was accused of being a police informer. It is reported...that there were other girls too working with her. Hunt has been launched to catch them also."

Daily AFTAB (Urdu) Sept. 24, 1991

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"Your land Islam, your tribe of Mustafa; creating any-platform for nationalism (Kashmiriat) tentamounts to paving the way for furthering the interests of infidels."

Andrabi in Aslafe 9.9.91"

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"The character of Hindu rulers is cruel as such non-violent struggle in Kashmir is not workable. Hindus cannot be

compared with Britishers. They will open the mouth of their guns against Muslims without caring if their movement is non-violent or violent."

Mausum Kashmiris' letter in Alsafe 13.1.91

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"Sikh and Muslims are fighting for the same cause. We have not raised arms against any community but against India."

Al-Umar in ALSAFA 4th June 1991

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"Plague of copying in the examination halls goes unabated. Candidates enter the examination halls carrying pistols, bangrenades etc."

ALSAFA 28.3.91

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"Rupees five lakhs looted from J&K Bank (nari Singh High Street, Srinagar). Bank emplyees say they have no faith in the Kashmir police."

ALSAFA 28.3.91

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"Women without "burqua" forced to come down from buses and made to walk on foot. Purses of ladies wearing "burquas" searched."

ALSAFA 12.4.91

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(This clearly shows that anti-national elements are running the show).

"Sikhs and their properties are safe in Valley. Those Sikhs who have left Valley have betrayed Sikhism. Sikhs cannot live on doles. Muslims are waiting to welcome the migrated Sikhs back to the Valley."

N.D. Singh, President J&K Unit of Akali Dal (Mann), ALSAFA 13.4.91

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"Those who follows western way of life have no right to live in Kashmir. Those who will create difficulties or hurdles in the implementation of the "purdah" (Burqua) movement will meet a miserable end."

Hizb Islami, ALSAFA 15.4.91

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"Four persons including a woman killed by Liberation Front activists on charge of illicit relations. The Front also realised a sum of Rs.78,000/- as fine from two other accused."

ALSAFA 17.4.91

"Fake militants creating problems".

Alsafe 20.3.91

***

"Affluent Kashmiris have purchased flats at Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore and other places and have started their business with non-Kashmiris over there. They have also sent their children to educational institutions there for better education."

Wadi Ki Awaz 21.3.91

***

A Lady Appeals to Militants

"Can I ask you why my husband Bashir Ahmed Layagaroo was killed on 15th October at 6.45 a.m. near Akhrajpora, Raj Bagh by some unknown militants. No organisation has claimed responsibility for it so far. I appeal to all the organisations to enquire into the matter especially Akhwan Muslamin, Hizb-Ullah, Hizb-Al-Momeen, Muslim Jhanabz Al Umar, for their personal enquiry. If Bashir Ahmed has been finished for any action the same may be put before the public, if not, then the persons responsible for this crime should be handed over to us. I am a helpless lady. I have four young children including two girls, the eldest being ten years old. I am shocked over the incident as to why my husband was

murdered."

Your Sister

W/o Bashir Ahmed, Akhrajpora, Rajbagh

(This appeal appeared in the Aftab of 18.10.1991)

***

"Kashmiri Pandits must make it clear whether they left on their own or were asked to leave Kashmir."

Al Umar Mujahidin', Srinagar Times 11.12.1991

"Al-Umar Mujahideen has sent a warning to businessmen from Kashmir who desire to set up stalls at Pragati Maidan. They have been asked to be prepared to face consequences. All people have been asked to hand over the fake militants to the real militants."

Srinagar Times' 11.12.1990

***

Appeal to Mujahideen Brothers

"My father has passed away in the month of August this year and as per Hindu religion. I have to perform some religious rites in his name which includes the immersing the ashes into the Ganges at Hardwar (U.P.). These ceremonies must be performed between 21st of December and 31st December 1991. So I appeal to Mujahideen brothers to permit me to be out for this period. I hope I will face no difficulties on retuning back. I hope I will be given permission for these ten days to leave the Valley and I will not be a subject of any suspicion on my return."

Mohan Lal Tiku

Aarigam, Tehsil Bandipora, Kashmir

(This appeal appeared in the Aftab and Srinagar Times of 11.12.1990).

Another heartrending appeal appeared in Al Safa, Aug. 23, 1991: "I appeal to all organisations, particularly Chief, Mohd. Ashan Dar, Javed Ahmed Mir and Hilal Ahmed Beg that a person named, Abdul Ahad Lone, s/o Ramzan Lone r/o Harnokawa, Chekkareri, Teh. Tangmarg, has abducted my wife Rafika on Aug. 18. She is the mother of three children, all below the age of seven years. One child aged one-and-a half has also been kidnapped along with her. I request all organisations to arrest this man and hand him over to me to save the lives of my other children. The accused should be punished according to the Holy Koran and Sunnat."

A news item, appearing in the Srinagar Times of Sept. 12, 1990 ran thus:

RESENTMENT BY THE JKLF

"In the meeting of the Supreme Council of the JKLF on Sept. 11, 1990, a lot of concern and resentment was expressed over the information that a few members of militant organisations are collecting funds in Srinagar and its suburbs by going to houses and showing letters from their leaders to the owners demanding Rs. 50,000 in cash, by gun-toting Mujahideen (sic)."

"The JKLF condemns such acts of the Mujahideen and has asked for restrictions to be imposed on such activities. Besides, no account is being kept of the colossal sums of money being collected by Mujahideens outsides Kashmir, i.e. Suadi Arab (sic), Gulf, Iran and United Arab Emirates."

An immensely significant news item appeared in ALSAFA on July 7, 1991.

"Expressing great concern and anguish regarding the information (mentioned above), the Chief Commander of the JKLF, Javed Ahmed, said the children are being kidnapped on the pretext of training and such information is consistently pouring in from several cities and villages. Children of the ages of ten are being taken away from the local educational centres and sent to unknown places for training. He warned persons involved in such rackets."

An interesting bit of information considering what has been happening recently. How much Amanullah Khan is really aware of is a matter of substantial debate.

Although the Life Insurance Corporation of India, like other offices prefixing or suffixing their names with 'India' e.g. State Bank of India, United India Insurance etc., had in February 1990, erased or painted the said suffix to its name, in utter despondency to adhere to the dicates/threats of Militants issued through local media. These offices had covered their sign boards with green cloth and or paint.

FERNANDES FAILS TO CUT ICE IN J-K

--HINDUSTAN TIMES: MARCH, 1990

Though Mr George Fernandes seems to have made no headway in initiating the political process to resolve the ongoing Kashmir crisis,the sheer perservance on his part may pay dividends in the near future. He is involved in a Herculian task as the malaise is not only deep-rooted but the political parties and leaders of all shades and colours have also lost their credibility and relevance.

On the occasion of the second visit of Mr Fernandes to the strife torn Valley within less than a fortnight, the terrorists had warned the people through hand written posters of dire consequence if any one dared to meet Fernandes. Even after Friday prayers, few hours earlier to the arrival of Mr Fernandes, announcements had been made from the mosques in the city to boycott the Minister for Kashmir Affairs and members of the all-party advisory committee. But Mr Fernandes remained undaunted. The anti-accession political leaders refused to meet him.

During his first visit along with the Deputy Prime Minister and the former Prime Minister, Mr Fernandes had preferred to move out in the city and claimed to have succeeded in establishing contacts with some people who were stated to be in contact with the terrorists and secessionists.

Even these persons refused to meet Fernandes. Only two journalists, Mr Mohammad Shaban, a lawyer and the editor-proprietor of a local daily and Mr Ghulam Nabi Khayal, a stringer of a number of foreign newspapers were sucessfully persuaded to meet Mr Fernandes. Meanwhile, the political developments in Delhi forced Mr Fernandes to cut short his visit and rush back to New Delhi.

Next day, the six members all-party advisory committee

reached Jammu. Poignant scenes came to the fore when Kashmiri migrants narrated their tale of woes. They cursed Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Mr Farooq Abdullah for the turmoil in the Valley. While Mr P.L. Handoo continued to avoid the representatives of the Kashmiri Pandit migrants, Mr G.R. Kar of the Congress made attempts to assuage the feelings of the migrants."

"When Mr Chaman Lal Gupta, a BJP leader, recalled the demand of autonomy to the Jammu and Kashmir regions. Mr Kar pleaded that under the present circumstances it was not wise politically to raise that issue. But next day Mr Handoo of the National Conference and Mr Kar of the Congress did not join the other members of of the team during visit to the camps."

"They preferred to stay back in the guest house. According to a member of the team, both the leaders had been advised to refrain from visiting the camps as their presence could also endanger the security of the other members."

"The delegation of the political parties and the migrants unanimously demanded a free hand to Governor Jagmohan in handling the Kashmir situation. The migrants opined that under the prevailing circumstances, any political initiative had no meaning and no talks should be held with terrorists."

"They said that a political initiative could be initiated only after peace and normalcy is restored in the Valley. During the visit of Mr Fernandes to the camps at Jammu, the migrants raised the slogans, "Expose the conspiracy of Rajiv-Farooq, give free hand to Jagmohan."

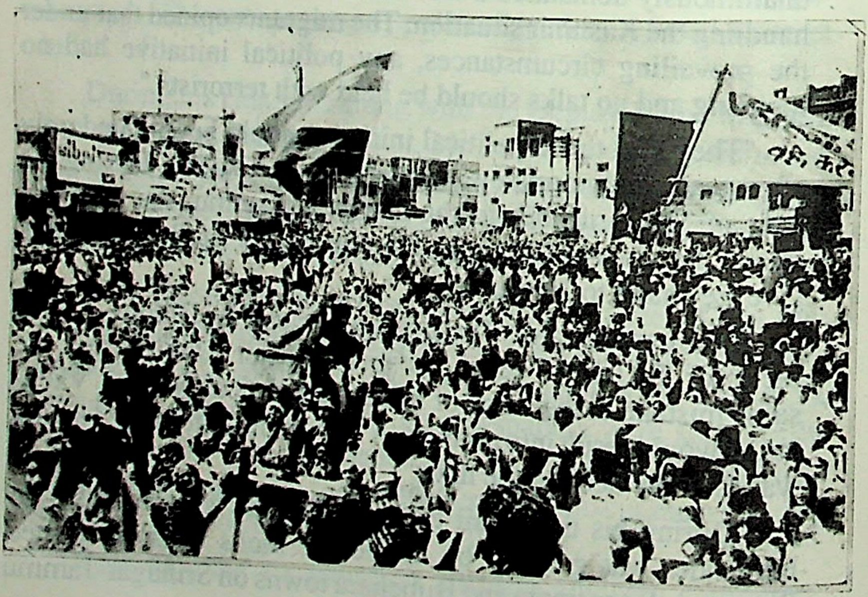
The migrants said, "The appeasement by the Union Government for the last 43 years has spelt disaster. Don't repeat the same mistake in the name of initiating political process. Vacillation would result into nothing. A strong and determined action was the only need of the hour."

"During his third visit to the Valley on Monday last. Mr Fernandes was greeted by the hostile mobs when he visited Pampore, Awantipora and Bijbehara towns on Srinagar-Jammu

National Highway. The slogan *Ham kya Chahtey Hain - Azadi, Azadi* (What we want - freedom, freedom) rent the air. However, the Minister did not loose his nerves and waited till the mob calmed down and then started talking to them.

According to reliable sources, Mr Fernandes was told by the people that the ongoing crisis was a creation of the misrule of the preceeding National Conference-Congress Government in the State. The people also cited the rigging of 1987 Assembly elections as one of the cause of their anger.

The people by and large have welcomed the belated realisation among the political parties in the country that it was of no use to merely issue statements from New Delhi or Jammu or write articles in newspapers while political activities are required to be undertaken in right earnest. However, one hopes that the same anxiety is maintained by the political parties in resolving the Kashmir tangle and they do not resort to political expendiency and polemics once again.



MILITANTS RULE IN KASHMIR: FERNANDES

By Janak Singh : TIMES OF INDIA 23.3.1991.

The Union Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Mr George Fernandes, said here today that "despite our best efforts we have not been able so far to bring about any appreciable change in the Kashmir situation which continues to be grim. Thanks to the pervading fear psychosis from which eveybody seems to be suffering in the Valley now, militants continue to rule the roost.

In a forthright interview, Mr Fernandes, who is also the Union Railway Minister, said: "The sadest part of the story is that no body including the intelligence agencies has any clue to the situation. Unfortunately, the rest of the country is blissfully unaware of the reality of how bad things are there. Two to three, or even more, deaths in violence are mentioned in newspapers as if they are of no consequence.

But we are not going to abdicate our responsibility, leave the population at the mercy of Pak-trained terrorists and subversives who are now stalking Kashmir. Nor do we propose to bring about improvement by resorting to repressive measures which in any case prove counter-productive. As the situation has deteriorated to such an extent, restoration of normalcy is going to take a long time.

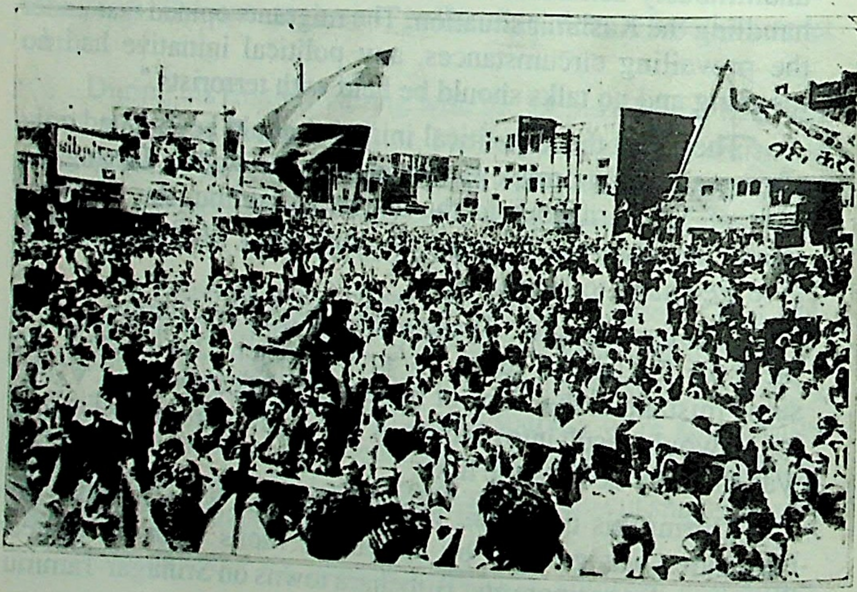
Over-Optimistic: May be I am being over-optimistic. On the few occasions I have visited Kashmir recently, I have moved about almost unescorted, sought to strike a rapport with the people. All my visits were preceeded by propaganda blasts warning people not to have any truck with me. Yet I could meet them in small groups of hundreds. Because of my sincerity, people opened out their hearts to me, giving an idea about factors responsible for the present impasse. Some of them were so good as to invite me home for lunch or dinner

Mr. Fernandes said he was convinced that the people had deep yearning for peace although all of them now talked of nothing but "azadi". Almost total suspension of commerical

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Mr. Fernandes said he was convinced that the people had deep yearning for peace although all of them now talked of nothing but "azadi". Almost total suspension of commerical

activity had not made people, even the poor among them, raise even a squeal of protest against terrorists now holding Kashmir to ransom.

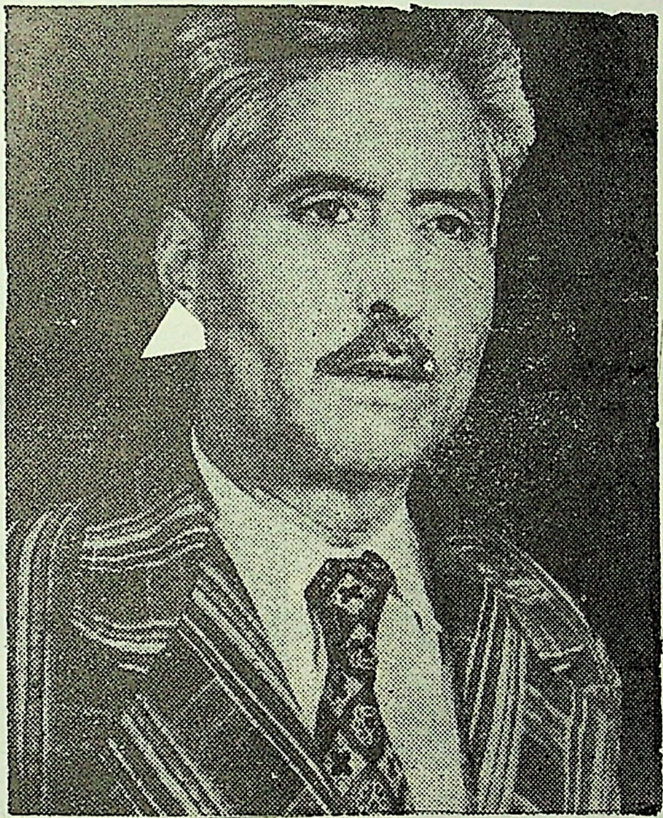
The Minister said unlike in the first two months after the imposition of Governor's rule in the state, local newspapers were now being published almost regularly in Srinagar. But the appearance of these papers had not helped the Government in any manner. On the contrary, they were serving the interest of the militants. "Often these papers carry venomous, inflammatory editorials dictated to them at the point of bayonet by terrorists. We know what is happening. But as there is already so much hostility against the Government we have not bothered to check it.

Greater Threat: Mr Fernandes said at the moment the only pro-India leader in Kashmir appeared to be Dr Farooq Abdulah. But even he dared not open his mouth. In fact, there was a greater threat to his life than to those now engaged in helping the state government in whatever manner. Whoever espoused India's cause instantly became the target of the people. Mr G.R. Matoo, Rajya Sabha member, who had recently resigned had received death threats.

How can you restore normalcy when even officials of the Central and State Government, are running away from Kashmir because of threat to their life ? Mr Fernandes replied:" Personally I think it is cowardice on the part of officials to do so. Unfortunately, the murder of the food and civil supplies official, Mr Raina two days ago, may further demoralise the bureaucracy. But we have to face this situation whatever the consequences.

To another question. Mr Fernandes said continuation or not of Mr Jagmohan as the state governor was not the most important thing at the moment. "He has many critics and many admirers. But his presence or removal from the scene can do little to alter the situation. Hence this is not an issue about which we are bothered at the moment.

THE WANTON KILLINGS AND DESTRUCTION
—A Preface only



Tika Lal Taploo



Abdul Satar Ranjoo



P.N. Bhatt


Maulana Masoodi

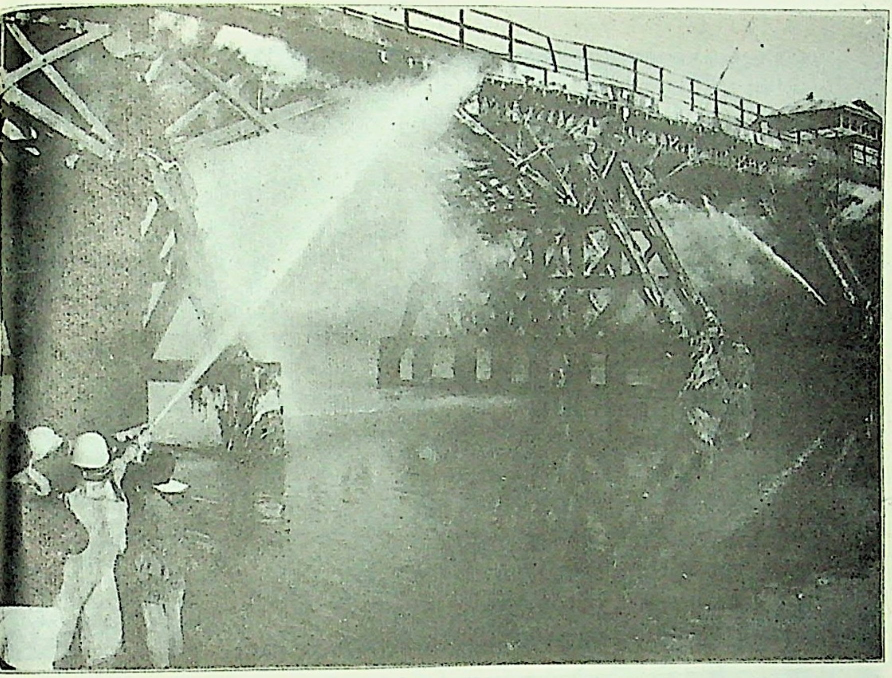

Maulvi Farooq


N.K . Ganjoo

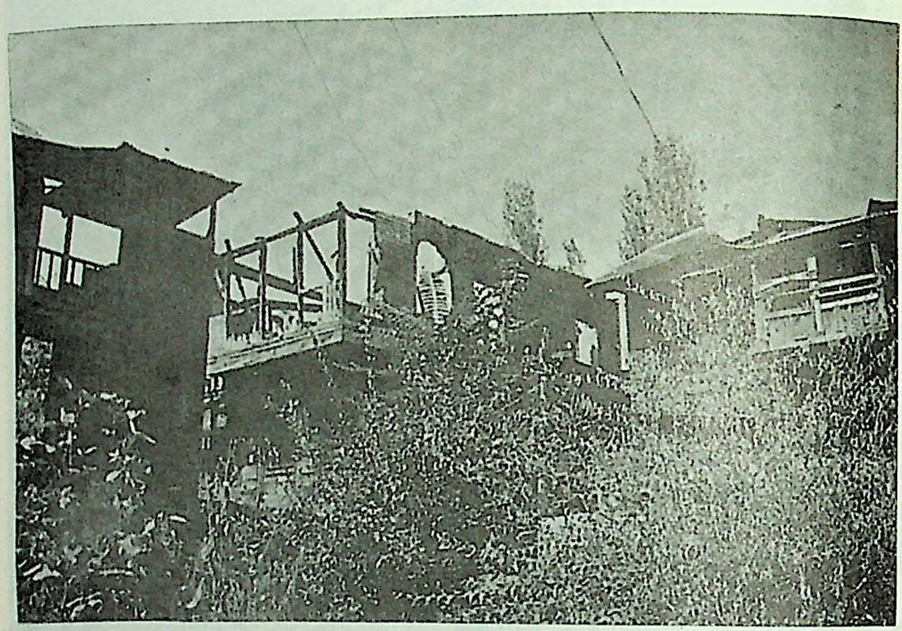

Capt. Raghunath Singh


Mohd. Shaban Vakil


Sarvanand Premi




CLINIC
OPTICAL WORKS





JAGMOHAN'S WARNINGS

The situation is fast deteriorating. It has almost reached a point of no return. For the last five days, there have been large-scale violence, arson, firing, hartals, casualties and what not. Things have truly fallen apart. Talking of the Irish crisis, Disraeli had said: "It is potatoes one day and the Pope next.' This is the position in Kashmir. Yesterday, it was Maqbool Butt; today it is Satanic Verses; tomorrow it will be 'repression day'; and day after, it wil be something else.

The Chief Minister stands isloated. He has already fallen-politically and administratively; only constitutional rites remain to be performed. The situation calls for effective intervention. Today may be timely; tomorrow may be too late.

From May 8 to 13, there have been 14 bomb blasts and six cases of firing and cross-firing. Four persons died and about 20 were injured. A tourist bus was fired upon, and four tourists were injured. The current administrative and political structure has once again proved unequal to the task. During the hartal period, no worthwhile activity has been visible at the political front to counter the move of the subversionists. What is still more worrying is that every 'victory' of subversionists is swelling their ranks, and the animosity is being diverted against the Central authorities. I have indicated my anxiety to the Chief Minister.

—Jagmohan's letters to Rajiv in April and May, 1989.

Governor Sahib, we need you very badly. It is amazing such remarkable work could be done by you in a short time. Please do not hesitate to pull my ears if I go wrong.

Farooq Abdulah
On November, 7, 1986

While we were combating forces of violence, cries of dismissal of my government and change of governor were raised

Farooq Abdulah
in January 1990

A FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE

Jagmohan takes charge in an extremely difficult situation.

Little did Jagmohan know what was in store for him. Forces inimical to his second term as Governor were putting the finishing touches on a campaign designed to discredit him in the eyes of the very people whose abiding affection he seemed to have won before relinquishing office in July last year.

ASSERTING AUTHORITY

With Governor Jagmohan at the helm, a semblance of law and order has been restored to the crisis-ridden state, but there is a long haul ahead.

A grey winter chill hangs over the Valley where the maximum temperature still hovers at barely minimum degrees celsius and where the daylong drizzle turns into sleet at sundown making the streets of towns like Srinagar, Anantnag, Sopore and Baramulla slippery and uncomfortable for the *phirenclad* Kashmiris. Just as it is for the 9,000 odd jawans from Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh who form the 57 CRPF and BSF companies now keeping an armed vigil in the by-lanes, crossroads and bridges.

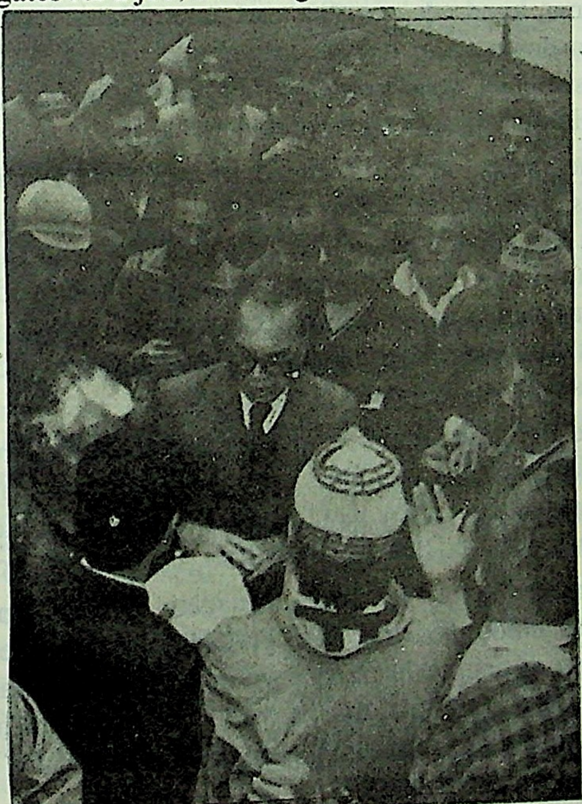
Near Gupkar Road and the boulevard that snakes along Dal Lake, a politically wounded Farooq Abdullah, hands tucked inside the fur-lined jacket of a turquoise parka, takes lonely and silent walks, perhaps to demonstrate that he is not frightened of his own people. And that he can walk alone unmolested while Governor Jagmohan, for whose head terrorist organisations are offering Rs 5 lakh, has to be guarded round the clock.

In Raj Bhawan, but a few minutes drive away, the lights burn all night as they do at the mini winter secretariat nearby. The Governor rarely retires before midnight and sleeps for no

more than five hours, when he awakens to read intelligence briefs on the law and order situation and files and follow-up action on grievances brought to him daily by the people.

This must surely be the leanest administrative structure in India. Even while the Government of the state is still housed in the temperate climate of Jammu, the winter capital, Jagmohan, with no more than a dozen civilian and police officials, has been camping in the unheated Raj Bhawan, a freezing outpost from where he's coordinating perhaps the most sensitive firefighting mission of the country.

Raj Bhawan springs to life at 8 a.m. when streams of people, in defiance of boycott calls and threats, flock to its well guarded gates for a job, a hearing,------



Jagmohan in Srinagar: Under siege

Writing about the situtiοn in Kashmir when Shri Jagmohan took over in January 1990, Prabbu Chawla writes in India Today:

"With Kashmir on fire, the new Government at the Centre had turned, once again, to Jagmohan to put the embers out. In Jammu, people danced on the streets to celebrate his appointment. And in Srinagar's Lal Chowk area, shopkeepers for the first time defied militants to open their establishments."

"But the euphoria was short-lived."

"The next day the Valley erupted as never before. Even before Jagmohan could reach Srinagar from the winter capital of Jammu, hundreds of police and paramilitary forces fanned out into down town ghettos and conducted brutal house-to-house searches, smashing electronic items, insulting women and children by parading them in the cold."

"The operation was planned by police and intelligence officials close to the Farooq Abdullah - Congress (I) combine without the knowledge of the new governor. But the people could not know this. Spokesmen for the discredited Farooq regime as well as pamphleteers from various terrorist organisations-as if in tandem-spread the word that the police action had been ordered by Jagmohan."

"The affection for him, overnight, began to turn to revulsion as people poured out into the streets to defy curfew orders. In several places, the army had to be called out. And once more, the shooting started, leaving daily trails of dead and wounded."

Remarked a lawyer from Srinagar; "When Jagmohan's name was announced, there was both happiness and fear. Happiness among people that justice would be done, and fear among politicans and extremists that he would act firmly against them. Today, those who were happy are afraid again- of the security forces and the extremists"!

The 'nursing orderly' soon discovered that he would have to play the role of a surgeon. The immediate operation would be to try and turn the propaganda around while containing terrorists. The longterm surgery: to cauterise the festering wounds of corruption and ineptitude inflicted on the state by the outgoing National Conference-Congress(I) coalition government. Jagmohan's inheritance was not the legacy he had left behind after governor's rule last time - a competent and corruption free administration but a hostile and demoralised bureaucracy, a local police force infiltrated by elements of doubtful loyality, and a host of confident secessionist organisations.

Farooq, desperately wanting to pass the buck for the dismal failure, quickly resigned from the Chief Ministership saying he had not been consulted by the Centre on Jagmohan's appointment. So the Governor had to begin his task alone, without the convenience of a temporary shock absorber.

He started his first day in office with 35 dead in police firings and over 400 arrested. During his first week in office about 90 people including over a dozen defence and police officials fell to bullets. Worse, Jammu & Kashmir policemen grew restive after rumours spread that one of them had been shot by CRPF men.

His first victory came on January 26 Republic Day. Secessionists had planned to declare an Independent Islamic Republic of Kashmir that day, with a pledge support from Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir. The militants had also invited foreign media to wintess the unfurling of new flag. Major disruptions were planned. But the day passed off without any event-largely due to round-the-clock crisis management by Ved Marwah and Jameel Quereshi, two IPS officers whom Jagmohan inducted as advisers.

But Jagmohan's troubles were not confined to his state. In a desperate bid to play the Kashmir card for the forthcoming assembly elections, the Congress(I) decided to make Jagmohan the political scapegoat. The first salvo was fired by Rajiv Gandhi: "Despite the opposition by Dr Farooq Abdullah, the

Governor was thrust upon him." The hypocray of this statement was not lost on those who remembered that Rajiv had urged Jagmohan to run from South Delhi for the Lok Sabha elections because of his exceptional record as an administrator.

That the Congress(I) was hellbent on trying to throw on the responsibility for Valley's woes on Jagmohan became evident when partymen loyal to Rajiv spread the rumour that he was appointed on the specific recommendation of RSS Chief Balasaheb Deoras. They also made the ludicrous charge that because he had carried out development work at the Vaishno Devi shrine, he was a Hindu communalist.

But such charges could not alter history or current reality. The bulk of intelligence reports and political analysis received by the former Congress(I) government squarely blamed Farooq for the administrative collapse in the Valley. The proof lies in simple facts and figures. During 1989 Farooq spent no more than 40 days in Srinagar. And what of his cabinet ? It met for no more than a dozen sessions to devise strategy for dealing with the crisis.

As tourism, the Valley's major source of income, declined by 30 per cent, the average Kashmiri was left with Rs 5,000 less to spend on his personal consumption. It was not surprising then that more and more people turned to the gun.

Jagmohan's most remarkable success during his first term-when the state saw development programmes delivering the goods as never before-was weaning people away from fundamentalists and bringing radical politicians into the mainstream. Once again, in order to demonstrate that the well-being of all Kashmiris is his goal, Jagmohan has begun to spread the word through radio and TV that he does not view the valley's troubles as a law-and-order problem but a symptom of economic, social and political distress.

One of his first acts was to announce a scheme creating 9,000 jobs for Kashmiri youth in the BSF and a programme to fill 3,000 teachers' vacancies within a month. On the law-and-order front, he ordered the release of most of the people illegally detained during the January 20 searches as well as immediate

compensation ranging from Rs 50,000 to Rs 1 lakh for innocent victims of terrorist or police violence. He also declared that while he would be personally available to talk to anyone with a legitimate grievance, he would spare no effort to arrest perpetrators of violence.

Jagmohan's second term as governor is a far more daunting assignment than his first. Moderate leaders have become irrelevant. Bureaucrats are now reluctant to help him because of fear of militants. And Pakistan has begun making threatening noises.

Right now, even as the militants flaunt their guns, Jagmohan answers them not just with more guns but also with bread and butter. And the promise of justice. His crucial test in these early days will be to try and rekindle some of the goodwill that the people of the Valley bore towards him. For the restoration of trust, common sense and rational judgement are the absolute preconditions of any solution.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

——INDIA TODAY, FEB. 15, 1990.



KASHMIR SANS KASHMIRI PANDITS

The exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley is not a new phenomenon, though the reason of their recent migration is different from the earlier ones starting from as early as 1417 A.D.

In this article the veteran journalist, Mr. B.P. Sharma traces the history of the untold sufferings of this community ever since.

"The migrants", he says, "are a human problem and this problem needs a more sympathetic consideration than it has so far received"

Kashmir without its original inhabitants- the Kashmiri Pandits—is synonymous with a body without its soul.

The history of Kashmir is replete with the tales of collosal sufferings and sacrifices made by the men and women of this community from time to time till the Sikhs came to their rescue in 1819 A.D., followed by a little over 100 years of Dogra rule during which period the Kashmiri Pandits heaved a sigh of relief.

Paradoxically it was a Kashmiri Pandit named Suha Bhatt who, after his conversion to Islam during the reign of Shah Sikandar (1394-1417 A.D.), took the Islamic name of Saif-Ud-Din, who became the biggest oppressor and tormentor of the Kashmiri Pandits. Jonaraja in his book "Dwitya Rajatarangini", records harrowing account of the persecution of the Kashmiri Brahmins during the reign of Sultan Ali Shah (1417-1423 AD) whose Minister Saif-Ud-Din, was.

Even a Muslim historian, Peer Ghulam Hassan Khuhami in his Persian history records:

"(The twice-born (Brahmins) were tormented and forced to accept Islam. Large numbers left Kashmir. They were forced to pay *Jazia.* Some killed themselves by taking poison others burnt themselves in the flaming fire)."

Jonaraja's graphic description of the sufferings of the Kash-

miri Pandits, translated by Shri Jogesh Chandra Ditta, reads:

"A multitude of Brahmins, who prided themselves in their caste, fled from the country through bye-roads as the main roads were closed. Even as men depart from this world, so did the Brahmins flee to foreign countries, the son leaving his father behind and father leaving his son. The difficult countries through which they passed, the scanty food, painful illness and the torments of hell during life-time removed from the minds of the Brahmins the fear of hell."

"Oppressed by various calamities such as encounter with the enemy, fear of snakes, fierce heat and scanty food, many Brahmins perished on the way and thus obtained relief. Where was their bath, their meditation, their austerity and their prayers?"

"It appears that the history is repeating itself now and the mass exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley and their suffering are more or less the same as suffered by them over 500 years ago."

In the reign of Sultan Zai-Ul-Abdin, popularly known as 'Badshah' (1423-1474 AD), the Kashmiri Pandits were virtually reborn. Munshi Mohammad Din 'Fauq' in his historical work (Urdu) "Shabab-i-Kashmir" says that the benevolent Sultan remitted the Jazia and gave a new lease of life to the Brahmins freeing them from the position of inferiority. This miraculous change was brought about by a selfless Kashmiri Brahmin named Shri Bhatt, a physician, who cured the Sultan of a malady. The grateful Sultan told Shri Bhatt to ask for any gift for himself, but instead, he sought the Sultan's favour for his entire community. The Kashmiri Pandits again prospered and along with them the whole Kingdom of Kashmir.

This prosperity however, was short-lived. The Kashmiri Pandits again fell into bad days during the rule of later Sultans. They were again forced to pay ***Jazia***. But Akbar's reign again was a boon for them. Akbar's historian, Abu-u-Fazl in his "Akbar Nama" described the Kashmiri Pandits as "most respect-

able class in Kashmir." Akbar repealed the ***Jazia*** rule and evinced great interest in their rehabilitation not only in the Valley but also in his vast Empire of which Kashmir became a part during the Mughal rule till 1707 AD when Aurangazed died.

In the years that followed, the Mughal Subedars again resorted to harassment of the Kashmiri Pandits. So much so that no Hindu could ride a horse or wear a shoe or a turban. The Kashmiri Pandits either got killed or resorted to exodus from the Valley to save their lives.

During the Afghan rule in Kashmir, again the Kashmiri Pandits underwent untold sufferings. Mir Muqim became a terror for them and many Pandits had to flee from their native land. A popular Persian Verse describes the plight of the Kashmiri Pandits thus:—

(O heart ! Both fear and danger are rampent in the City, Prepare yourself for journey as disorder has stationed itself in the City.)

According to justice Jia lal Kilam in his mounmental work "A History of Kashmiri Pandits", Mir Hazar Khan, an Afghan Subedar, "created a record of his own perhaps unbeaten in the annals of Kashmir by his most merciless and brutal treatment that he meted out to the Kashmiri Pandits. There have been Subedars such as Karam Dad Khan and Azad who disfigured and blackened the pages of Kashmir history by their misdeeds but Mir Hazar Khan is a category by himself. He was laden with the hatred of the Pandits in an unbounded measure, and the result was that he was satisfied not only with killing them or drowning them in the rivers which he certainly did, but he chalked out well-planned methods to wipe them out of existence".

Jusitce Kilam further says: "Muslim masses did not par-

ticipate in any large numbers in this orgy of brute force and passions..... in the country side the Pandit pursued his course unmolested in his usual manner and the Pandit and Sheikh lived as brothers".

The above narrative will show that between the 14th and the 18th Centuries, the Kashmiri Pandits were forced to migrate from the Valley several times. There being no proper roads or the modern means of transport, they suffered untold miseries, walking long distances, sometime even without food. The place known as Batote, on the Jammu-Srinagar road stands as a mute reminder of the migration of the Kashmiri Pandits (also called Battas). Batote is a corrupted form of two Kashmiri words **Batt** and **Wath** (meaning the route taken by the migrant Pandits.

The recent migration of the Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley has, however, surpassed all previous records. Terrorism has not only lynched the economy of Kashmir but has also defaced the very image of this "Heaven on the Earth" where Mahatma Gandhi saw a ray of hope in 1947, when communal passions caused much misery elsewhere in the country. The reasons for which the Pandits were made to flee from the Valley differed from time to time. Sometime it was religious bigotism, sometimes the jealousy among educated Muslims when the Kashmiri Pandits learnt the Persian language so much so that they became masters of the language second only to Persians themselves. They got an upper hand in the administraton.

But the reasons of the recent mass migration of the Hindus from the Valley are mainly political. Inspite of the claims of the Government to the contrary the pro-Pakistan forces are gaining strength in Kashmir. This is for the first time in the history of Kashmir when fully trained and armed terrorists, aided and abetted by Pakistan are using scientific modern automatic weapons, mostly Chinese made AK-47, universal machine

guns, rockets and bombs to achieve their object. This time the first Kashmiri Pandit gunned down on December 27, 1989 was Mr. P.N. Bhat. But not hardly a day passes without the brutal murder of some of those members of the minority community who have choosen to stick to their hearths and homes. The victims include the non-Kashmiri Hindus settled in Kashmir. A more recent addition to the attrocities is the burning of the houses of the Hindus.

The main target of the terrorists, however, are the security forces and anything else bearing the name of "India" or "Hind" which they are determined to destroy. The security forces have done a commendable job but have always remained defensive. Inspite of their best intentions and efforts the Government has so far failed to create conditions for the safe re-settlement in the Valley of the migrants. The migrants have left their immovable properties worth crores of rupees in the Valley and most of them could not bring their moveable property either. They have been put up in camps at various places facing rigours of climatic variations, in their tented dwellings.

The migrants are a human problem and this problem needs more sympathetic consideration than it has received so far.

—Courtsy : SUNDAY MAGAZINE SECTION
KASHMIR TIMES OCT 21, 1990.

[Note : *Shri Tika Lal Taploo was the first Kashmiri Pandit to be killed by terrorists on 14.9.1989, followed by shri N.K. Ganjoo on 4.11.89 and P.N. Bhat on 27.12.89 —AUTHOR.]*

NOW OR NEVER (EXTRACT)

India can still prevent Kashmir from seceeding

--Subramanyam Swami : SUNDAY 6-12 Oct. 1991.

Kashmir is on fire. By which I mean Jammu, Valley and Ladakh are burning. And yet hardly anyone is paying serious attention to the deep consequences for the Indian nation arising out of the situtation there. Without exaggeration, it can be said that Kashmir is the *agni parkisha* of the hoary concept of Indian nationhood. Kashmir stays, India survives. Kashmir seceedes, India will recede into oblivion. Kashmir is the negation of the vicious communal propaganda that Muslims anywhere in India sooner or later will demand another Pakistan. If Kashmir goes, we shall not be able to face the onslaught of the Hindu fascist forces. India would be doomed then.

At a point in times in history, when the Soviet Union is disintegrating, Yugoslavia into pieces and Sri Lanka is in ethnic chaos, can any patriotic Indian be oblivious of the sinister developments in Kashmir ? But that today precisely is the position. The time has, therefore, arrived to take stock. It is *now* that we must devise a complete and lasting remedy to Bharat Mata's bleeding head wound. *Now or never*, I would think.

What, in a nutshell, is the Kashmir problem ? It is that large sections of the people of the Valley have been *mesmerised and terrorised* not to want to be a part of India. Just because some people, even if in temporary majority, want to seceede from India, it does not mean that Kashmir has to go along or the rest of India agree to this. India is not an artificial construction of some despotic dictator as the Soviet Union was and can be unravelled once the dictator departs. India is an ancient organic union reared in the tradition of the oldest unbroken culture in the world, Kashmir, for most of India's pupulation, is not cherry fruit crates and beautiful carpets but of the Amarnath caves, Shankarcharya Hill and Vaishno Devi.

It appears to me that at the root there is a misconception in Kashmir among troublemakers that by making a nuisance of themselves, the people of India will throw up their hands in despair and hand over Kashmir to the Hizbul Mujahideen. Nothing of the kind will ever happen. It is a ridiculous idea that just because some people, even if in majority in an area, change their mind, India has to change with it.

We need a tough Home Ministry set up, that will make it clear to all the 45-odd terrorist organisations in Kashmir that, short of parting with Kashmir, the Centre is prepared to discuss and resolve any issue by negotiations. *And if that is not acceptable*, then the Centre is equally equipped to turn around the "kill and kidnap ratios" in a manner that will make their own terror look like school-boy pranks. The Centre should also publicise among the people that anyone who cooperates with India will get all the protection that 850 million people can muster. This should be backed by concrete action.

Now why should the people of the Valley listen to the rest of India on this ? If they don't then we should inform them of the preventive options open to us on Kashmir. Kashmir is really three states Jammu, Ladakh and Valley "plus" and can be divided.

If the Valley does not listen even after exercising the option of dividing the state into three then the second step by the Centre be taken; the abolition of Article 370. Legally Article 370 can be abolished merely by a public notification issued by the President. It does not require Parliament's sanction.

Article 370 was really meant for the people of the Valley. The Jammuites and the Ladakhis hate it since the Valley's elites have used Article 370 against them. Because of this Article, private investments from the rest of India have not been permitted in Jammu and Ladakh where, however, the local people

have never felt threatened by "invasion of Marwaris" to prevent which Jawaharlal Nehru had said that Article 370 was necessary.

Let me say for clarity that I am *not* for the immediate abolition of Article 370. In fact, I am not for removal of this clause while the people of the Valley want it to remain, *provided* of course the people there want to remain a part of India.

Unfortunately for India, due to a series of policy errors, the people have begun to feel that their future is with terrorist organisations like the JKLF and Hizbul Mujahideen because the Indian State appears to be withering away in Kashmir. This feeling came to hold the people after the Rubaiya kidnapping episode and its handling by the V.P. Singh government.

When Rubaiya, daughter of India's then home minister, was kidnapped, 20 prominent Muslim organisations had condemned it. Even Mirwaiz Moulvi Farooq had denounced it. The kidnappers were at the end of their tether when the National Front government unilaterally agreed to release five hard-core terrorists in exchange for Rubaya. Naturally, the JKLF jumped at the offer. In the eyes of the people of Kashmir, the terrorists then became heroes who could humble the might of New Delhi.

Those who sided with India looked silly. Mirwaiz was subsequently assassinated and the 20 Muslim organisations have since been effectively silenced. In their place there has been a mushrooming of terrorist organisations which now number about 45.

".........The present crisis in Kashmir has *nothing* to do with Muslims as such. It has to do with the exploaition of the sentiments of the people of Kashmir by terrorists working in an India-created vacuum, of the disgust of the people at the corruption of the state administration and the soft state power

apparatus in New Delhi............"

In other words, the Kashmir problem cannot be handled by sweet-talking with anybody or by concessions or by pitting the Hindus against the Muslims.

The first step for us to take, *before taking any other step* is to establish the credentials of the Central government on its determination to keep Kashmir as a part of India no matter what the cost. This can only be achieved, at this late stage, by telling the citizens of the state that if they do not give up their secessionist demand, the Centre would first trifurcate the state, and if that still does not bring about a change in attitude of the people, the Centre would follow through with the secod step of abolishing Article 370 of the Constition and simultaneously scrapping the J & K Constitution.

I am quite certain that the threat of the above mentioned two-stage action by the Centre would bring about a qualitative change in the atmosphere of the state. Already, people in the Valley are miserable over the cut-back in tourism and the shutting down of industry. The terrorists are trying to prop up the morale of the people of promising armed intervention by Pakistan *a la* Bangladesh. This, of course, will never happen. Pakistan will fight to the last Kashmiri by subversion and training camps, but it is not equipped to fight a protracted war with India. The Kashmiri people must understand why this is so. Hence, the Centre should launch on a credible propaganda blitz to tell the people of the utter futility of dreaming about Pakistan liberating Kashmir, or that their future lies with those who propagate such absurd nonsense.

"Kashmir is retrievable even today. It has to be made so anyway for India's long-term survival. What we need to do is to shake off the cobwebs in our heads, and go about on the issue as if retaining the state is a life-and-death question for us-which of course it is.........."

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Shri Gopi Kishen Muju, a Clinical Psychologist and Psychotherapist by profession is a well known figure in social and community circles in Kashmir as a social worker. Right from his college days he has been taking active part in student activities and later on in socio-cultural activities of the community. A theosophist and ardent reader of Shri J. Krishnamurty since his childhood, he has been associated with the Women's Welfare Trust, Kashmir and the schools run by it. He is also associated with All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (Shri Sanatan Dharam Yuvak Sabha), Sharika Bhawan Sheetal Nath, Srinagar and A.I.K.S. for over last two decades. Prof. Muju has also been actively involved with several temple committees and other santhas in Kashmir. All these associations became the cause of his being on the hit list of militants in Kashmir. He was finally forced to leave the Valley on 6th March, 1990 and at present is a displaced like so many other members of the Community at Jammu. Unfortunately his father, Pandit Dina Nath Muju, who stayed behind became a victim of militancy when he was brutally

killed at his residence in July, 1990.

Shri Muju, is very anxious to see his community unite and prosper. He is against any move to exploit the community for any political purposes by anybody. He does not believe in unwarranted confrontations, contradictions and controversies in solving community's problems. He is eager for a unified community platform for at least a common minimum programme.

A widely travelled man in India and abroad, he is an able administrator, planner and organiser. An outspoken person, with clear perception of the present problems of the community, he is worried about the future of the displaced community. The authorities, he feels, are not bothered about it, but express more concern over the political issues involved. He feels that the human problem has got lost in political wranglings.

He is determined that the community must stand on its own, chalk out its own strategy, for which all the well wishers, well meaning people and those who matter in the community will have to sit and think together for the future without using the community for any personal end. He is against playing any politics with the community; nor can community issues be solved on communal basis.

Shri Muju is quite eager to go back to Kashmir and live with his fellow beings with honour, dignity, security and safety and as an equal participant in the socio-political and economic activities of the land. He earnestly hopes that the gun welding youth of the Valley will soon realise the extent of damage they have already done to Kashmir by being duped and trapped by religious fundamentalists and anti-national elements. He is hopeful that better sense will soon prevail upon these people. He is against any division of Kashmir but firmly believes that Kashmir belongs to Kashmiri Pandits as much as to anybody else and the Hindus and Muslims have to live together for mutual existence, prosperity and progress.

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